

MOZAMBIQUE

REVOLUTION



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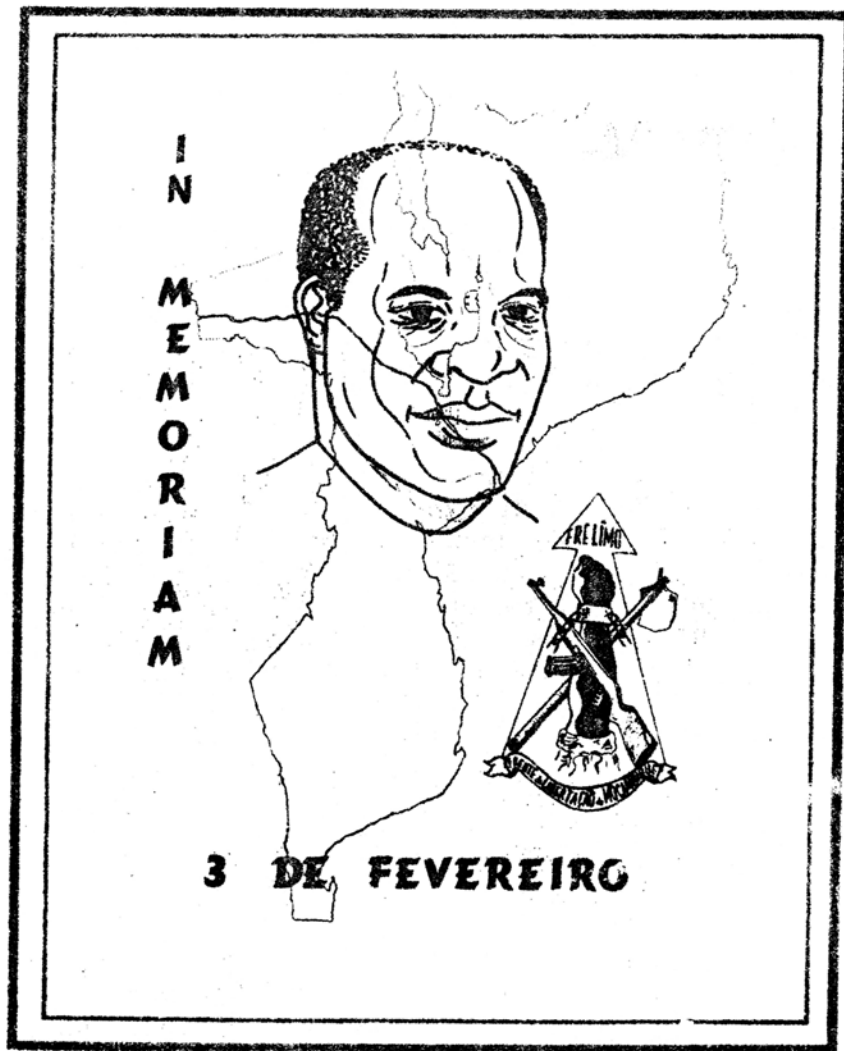
Mozambique Revolution

Official organ of the Mozambique Liberation Front
(FRELIMO)

January-March 1970

No.42

COMRADE EDUARDO CHIVAMBO MONDLANE



3rd FEBRUARY 1970

1st Anniversary of the death
of the President of FRELIMO

EDITORIAL

One year ago, on the 3rd of February, 1969, the President of FRELIMO, Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, was assassinated.

Sorrow and confusion fell over the combatants and the people. Uncertain, they questioned themselves on how that had been possible; disconcerted, remembering the lesson learned from the struggle - to find the cause of defeats in our own weaknesses - they wondered whether the organisation really contained such weak points in itself. The militants felt that a suddenly heavier responsibility had been cast onto them; the people requested explications and clarification. For weeks the military offensive came to a halt, the militia ceased cultivating, the population stopped transporting vital material. Each of us questioned the future of the organisation and the fate of our struggle. And many felt as if, with comrade Mondlane, a whole heritage of achievements had been lost.

Unity was threatened, which he had come to represent, so more so after being re-elected by the Second Congress: Mozambicans of every part and tribe of the country could no longer rally around him in their determination to fight against the common enemy. Commitment to a prolonged war vacillated, since he who had provided the pillars to that difficult engagement and had become its defender in front of the world, was no longer there. Under his leadership FRELIMO had launched the armed struggle, and, more important, under his leadership FRELIMO had decided to engage in it with a perspective of years.

His presence was a guarantee and the symbol of a number of efforts: the efforts to determine the popular and revolutionary character of the struggle; the effort to define the nature of the enemy, not by the colour of his skin, but by his activities, contrary to the interests of the people; the effort to provide FRELIMO with such a solid basis that it could survive and ensure the continuity of the revolution without reference to the physical presence of any individual; the effort to make FRELIMO independent in the relations with other countries, accepting only the assistance which evidenced an absolute respect for our struggle and our people. Of all these efforts he was the warrantor; to the success of all, a major contributor. Of one in particular, the effort to educate, to prepare politically, to give to the largest number of people the weapons of knowledge, he had been the initiator and the constant supporter, even when others would show doubt or indifference.

His death appeared to us, and such it was in the intentions of our enemies, a direct threat to all this. And in fact it de-clenched dangers and hatreds and many other petty blows: we have always been aware of the use that can be done of any such event as a weapon against the Front. Diffidence and suspicion were all around us.

And yet, in that difficult time, discipline did not fail. Militants appeared calm and strong and exhorted the people not to despair. They reminded the people of the causes and purposes of our struggle, why Comrade Mondlane had died and for what he had lived. They recalled his teaching, that the choice for Mozambicans was not between living or dying, but between living in freedom or living as slaves, and that comrade Mondlane had died while struggling for freedom. People and militants understood or felt by intuition that this was a great political test, harder than a battle with the Portuguese army, demanding more courage than the resistance to daily bombing, being part of the general strife towards material self-sufficiency and mental autonomy. So they faced it as a new challenge and pledged to save that heritage, by all possible means.

Today, one year after the death of Comrade Mondlane, we can say that the pledge is being fulfilled. We have reached a higher form of unity and intensified the armed struggle: we have mobilised and organised new populations, killed

hundreds of colonialist soldiers, downed aircraft , sabotaged bridges and roads. We have opened new schools for our children and more medical centres for our wounded and sick. We have increased production to such an extent that most of the zones are self-reliant in food. We have learned more and are learning every day. The heritage had not only been saved, but brought farther on.

Now it is the turn of our enemies to be confused and suspicious: FRELIMO has grown stronger out of adversities and awareness has reached a higher level. To the dismay of those who try to stop the struggle, the old tale becomes true: out of Mozambican blood, shed for justice, new warriors spring up, and their forces are multiplied by consciousness.

Sangue moçambicano se derrama
e vidas de combatentes se perdem
sangue moçambicano estruma a terra
novas gerações revolucionárias nascem
porque este sangue é derramado pela justiça.

A luta continua.

TETE

communiqué

The following is the report of FRELIMO military activities in Tete Province, covering the period between September 1969 to January 1970. Difficulties of communication and a still imperfect administrative system in this Province prevented us from issuing the report earlier.

The struggle in Tete Province is developing at a very fast pace. Using the experience gained in the other Province and adapting that experience to the specific conditions of Tete, our comrades have already been able to reach a level of development which in the other Provinces took much longer to achieve. For example, in the military field, attacks against enemy posts and the capture of war material.



FRELIMO

We started with a small nucleus of guerrillas in the Centre-North of Tete. That group grew, incorporating elements of the local population and spreading throughout the whole area north of the Zambezi River. Today our forces operate in the East along the border with Malawi; in the South, in the zone of Cahora Bassa, in the West we have reached Zumbo.

As both the cause and consequence of the development of the armed struggle, the level of political consciousness of the people has increased extraordinarily. The population no longer thinks of escaping from the struggle and seeking refuge in the neighbouring countries, on the contrary, those who at the beginning of the war had fled, are now anxious to return and participate. This change of attitude is due to several factors--the development of the struggle and the growing confidence of the people in our ability to defend them; the constant work of our political commissars; and the intensification of agricultural production. The increase in production, even the mere possibility of producing in the regions under FRELIMO control, is one more element which encourages the population to return to their homeland.

We have already opened 6 schools in Tete and many medical centres.

The colonialist project of Cahora Bassa is being seriously threatened by our forces. At this moment, the Portuguese and their allies (South Africans, West Germans, French and Italians) are organising the transport of material to the site where they plan to build the dam. This preparatory work includes the construction of an airfield for helicopters on the Northern Bank (mountain of Mulumba), and the building of wood and corrugated iron houses for the workers on the southern bank (mountain of Songo). Along both sides of the river the enemy is trying to open small roads to allow movement of their troops.

The people who live along the banks of the Zambezi River, in the zone of the construction, are being evacuated to concentration camps (so-called "protected villages"). The plan of the enemy, when trying to depopulate the zone is to isolate the guerrillas and thus hinder our activities. Under this plan, the enemy has destroyed all the people's canoes that they have found along the river.

Our guerrillas are already operating in the zone of Cahora Bassa, undertaking acts of sabotage, destroying lines of communication (roads and bridges), attacking enemy posts and camps.

During the period between September, 1969 and January, 1970 (the report for January is still incomplete), our guerrillas in action in Tete Province launched 20 ambushes and attacks against posts and camps, sabotaged 3 bridges and carried out more than 40 mining operations against enemy convoys and groups on the roads.

As a result, several of these posts and camps were almost completely destroyed, 3 bridges blown up, about 350 colonialist soldiers killed and 55 vehicles destroyed.

Military Report.

I. - Ambushes and attacks against Portuguese military posts and camps:

1 September, 1969, FRELIMO guerrillas (artillery and infantry forces attacked an enemy camp in UNCANHA, in the area of Chief Mussendalva. Many tents were burned, material destroyed and 10 Portuguese soldiers killed.

4 September, The Post of CHAUMBA, area of Chief Kussalala was attacked and partially destroyed. Nine of the enemy were put out of action.

13 September, An enemy platoon left VILA GAMITO to launch attacks against the villages. FRELIMO guerrillas were informed by the local people and organised an ambush in which the enemy fell, in the village of CATSENGA. 5 Portuguese soldiers were killed and 7 wounded.

19 September, A Portuguese platoon was ambushed on the VILA GAMITO - CHAUMBA road. Seven of the enemy were killed and 13 wounded.

25 September, A heavy attack was launched against the post of PIRI-PIRI, area of Chief CHITOMBO. The post was badly damaged and 14 of the enemy killed.

4 October, An enemy group working on the bridge over the River LUIA was attacked by our forces. Three of them were killed and 11 wounded.

5 October, Two enemy platoons were ambushed, while coming to reinforce the group attacked the day before on the bridge of LUIA. Six were killed and a number wounded.

7 October, A Portuguese patrol escorting cattle to CHAUMBA was ambushed by FRELIMO guerrillas. The enemy patrol fled. Our comrades captured the cattle and food that they had left behind.

23 October, Our guerrillas attacked an enemy unit marching from VILA GAMITO towards CHAUMBA. Seven colonialist soldiers were killed.

27 October, On the road from FURANCUNGO to VILA GAMITO, in the region of MGOMO, a convoy of 4 lorries was ambushed. Two lorries were destroyed and 14 soldiers were killed.

29 October, FRELIMO forces attacked the post of CHIPERA. Two houses were destroyed, 6 soldiers killed and 9 wounded.

31 October, Two lorries coming from VILA GAMITO to CHAUMBA carrying soldiers were ambushed. The rear lorry was completely destroyed by bazooka and machine gun fire. Eight soldiers were killed.

22 November, Several FRELIMO guerrilla units joined and together attacked the enemy post of CHINTULA. Four houses were destroyed 6 tents burned and 18 soldiers killed.

18 December, FRELIMO guerrillas attacked the post of OLIVEIRA. Two houses were destroyed and 8 soldiers killed.

18 December, Our forces attacked an enemy camp in the region between CHIUTA and CASULA in the area of Chief SATSARIRE. Four colonialist soldiers were killed, several wounded and others fled. We captured all the material which was in the post, including 7.7 and 7.9 MAUSER rifles, 150 rounds of ammunition, grenades, uniforms and civilian clothes. A store nearby which supplied the camp was also raided by our guerrillas who took three rolls of cloth, shoes, transistor radios, etc.

21 December, Our fighters ambushed an enemy force which had left MANJE. Fourteen Portuguese soldiers were marching, trying to detect mines with long sticks. They were being followed by a lorry carrying more soldiers. When they entered the zone of the ambush, our guerrillas fired, 7 Portuguese were killed, 11 were wounded.

On the same day (21 December), a guerrilla unit ambushed a convoy of 4 lorries moving from BENE to MANJE. The front lorry was destroyed by a mine. The other 3 were attacked, and one was completely destroyed.

1 January, 1970. FRELIMO guerrillas attacked a Portuguese post in the area of Chief Zangaija. Three houses were destroyed, 10 enemy soldiers killed and many wounded.

II. - Sabotage Actions.

A. BRIDGES.

4 November, 1969, FRELIMO fighters blew up the bridge over the river DUANHALE.

22 January, 1970. The bridge over the MUTENDEZI river was destroyed. It was 12 meters long and 4.50 meters wide.

22 January, The bridge over the KALILA river - 15 meters long and 5 meters wide - was destroyed.

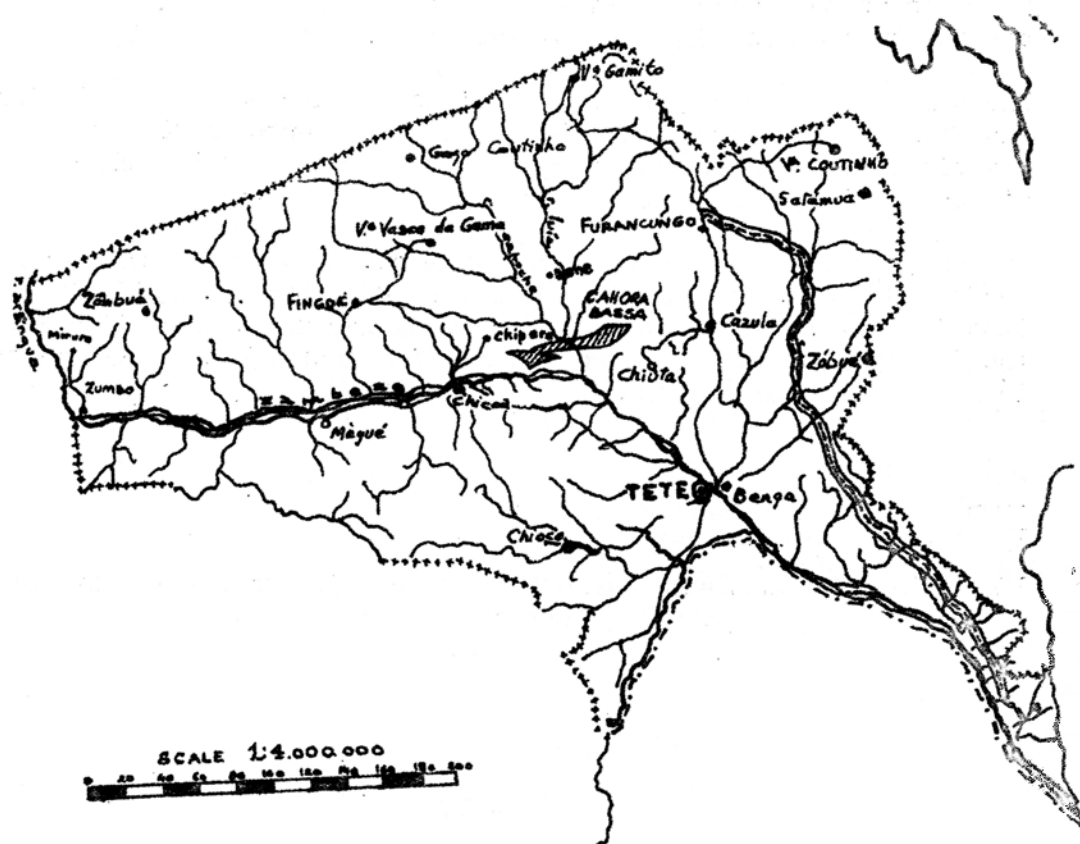
(After the destruction of these 2 bridges, the road connection between ZUMBO and FINGOE, and ZUMBO and MALEWERA (Portuguese military headquarters) was cut. The only possible connection is now by air.

B. ROADS (Mining Actions)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place (road)</u>	<u>Vehicles destroyed</u>	<u>Port. killed</u>	<u>soldrs. wounded</u>
11/9/69	FURANCUNGO - VILA GAMITO	1	3	5
11/9	" " "	1	?	?
15/9	CHIUTA - <u>CAHORA BASSA</u>	2	5	?
16/9	VILA GAMITO (near the airfield)	1	8	?
20/9	From CHIUTA	2	?	?
25/9	MALEWERA - PIRI-PIRI (in co-ordination with the attack against the post of PIRI-PIRI launched on the same day)	1	8	4
30/9	VILA GAMITI - MISSIPO	1	4	11
8/10	VILA GAMITO - FURANCUNGO	2	9	?
8/10	VILA GAMITO - SAMALIA	1	7	-
10/10	CHINTUNKULU - CACHA	1	?	?

14/10	FINGOE - CHICOA (a colonialist was fleeing towards Tete, carrying all his belongings, escorted by 6 Portuguese soldiers. His lorry hit our mine)	1	3	4
16/10	MALEWERA - PIRI-PIRI (A group of puppet soldiers had been sent by jeep from MALEWERA to inspect the safety of the road looking for mines. They reached PIRI-PIRI post without incident. They then informed the post of MALEWERA by radio that the road was safe. A lorry left MALEWERA loaded with food and monthly wages for the soldiers of PIRI-PIRI: it hit our mine and was completely destroyed. The driver and his assistant were killed. The Portuguese arrested the African puppet soldiers who mistakenly reported that the road was safe).	1	2	-
16/10	FINGOE - ZUMBO	2	9	?
22/10	NGWENHAMA - FURANCUNGO	1	?	?
23/10	FURANCUNGO - DIQUE / DIQUE - FURANCUNGO	3	15	?
24/10	DIQUE - MADZI MAELA	2	?	?
30/10	CHAUMBA - GAMITO	-	4	6
30/10	VILA GAMITO - CHAUMBA	1	3	7
31/10	MALEWERA - MALIMA	1	6	2
2/11	MALEWERA - MALIMA	1	2	-
3/11	FURANCUNGO - VILA GAMITO	1	7	5
20/11	BENE - CHIUTA	1	?	?
28/11	MANJE - BENE	1	6	3
25/11	BENE - CACHA	1	4	7
30/11	BENE - MANJE	1	7	-
26/11	FINGOE - ZUMBO	1	4	2

26/11	MALEWERA - CHAMBOTA	1	3	?
28/11	MALEWERA - NAIROSS	2	7	12
1/12	FINGOE - MUERIDZI	1	8	-
2/12	CHICOA - FINGOE	2	4	14
3/12	FINGOE - OLIVEIRA	-	5	-
5/12	BENE - CACHA	1	4	7
11/12	MANJE - BENE	-	6	?
14/12	MALEWERA - PIRI-PIRI	1	3	?
15/12	FINGOE - LUMUZI (a lorry was loaded with barrels of wine. When it was blown up, the road was flooded with the wine).	1	2	4
17/12	CHIUTA - MANJE	1	?	?
19/12	CALILAMO - LUIA	1	4	?
19/12	BENE - MANJE	1	7	-
21/12	MANJE - BENE	2	8	10
21/12	MASSASSE	-	3	5
22/12	TETE - BENE	1	3	?
25/12	BENE - MANJE	2	5	?



NIASSA

CABO DELGADO

During the past few months - from October, 1969 up to the first days of February, 1970 - FRELIMO fighters in Niassa and Cabo Delgado were active in the consolidation of the liberated regions.

We attacked enemy fortified posts in order to wipe out the presence of the colonial army which still subsists in certain regions: thus, about 12 large-scale attacks were launched, with combined artillery and infantry forces. Those actions, besides inflicting large losses in personnel and heavy damage (sometimes complete destruction) to the posts attacked, have allowed us to capture large quantities of weapons, and more important, ammunition and equipment. Soon after our first shots, the Portuguese soldiers usually flee from their posts and seek refuge in the bush, leaving everything behind. Since most of these posts control the so-called "protected villages" which are in fact concentration camps, our attacks have set free many Mozambican patriots.

In those regions the acts of sabotage play an important role in the consolidation of the situation, frustrating the Portuguese attempts to re-establish land communication between their posts, or to regain control over areas they have already lost.

The number of ambushes in those regions has decreased in relation to the first phase of the struggle, as the movements of the enemy are very restricted: the main confrontation with the enemy takes place in the attacks against enemy strongholds.

In the course of the actions listed below, which cover the period between October, 1969 and the beginning of February, 1970 (for Cabo Delgado), and October, November and December, 1969 (for Niassa), the Portuguese army suffered 668 men killed and 72 vehicles destroyed, in a total of 101 actions.

NIASSA

Attacks

15 October 1969....post of Messumba attacked

17 October 1969....raid against the strategic hamlet of Oliveira (all the people were set free)

- 3 November 1969....attack against the post of Milepa, that harrassed the people of Sapanga
- 4 November 1969....combined infantry and artillery attack against the post of Luatize
- 13 November 1969....military camp of Dias attacked
- 22 November 1969....artillery and infantry attack against the post of MANDALAWA (19 Portuguese killed, including the commander) - all the people set free

Ambushes

- 2 October 1969....UNANGO
- 2 October 1969....3 successive ambushes between Ngueni and Chissunino
- 16 October 1969....Massangulo (when Portuguese soldiers were taking 13 Mozambicans to a strategic hamlet)
- 16 October 1969....Unango
- 20 October 1969....Namatumba
- 17 November 1969...Mandalawe - Matipa
- 27 November 1969...Unango
- 12 December 1969...Unango
- 20 December 1969...Meponda

Sabotage Operations

FRELIMO sabotage operations were particularly intensive in the roads of UNANGO, Macaloge, Ngazelo, Mamiamba and Vila Cabral.

CABO DELGADO

Attacks

- 3 November 1969...."Protected Village" of Nyamkoma - much material captured
- 5 November 1969....post of Nangade - all houses destroyed
- 16 November 1969....a shop in Ancuabe guarded by puppet soldiers - ammunition and civil material captured
- 25 January 1969....Post of QUINHANGAIA (assaulted) 16 Portuguese killed, material captured
- 8 February 1969....post of Miteda - 3 houses destroyed

Ambushes

19 October 1969....Lyantwa
21 October 1969....Chiconono
25 October 1969....Muidumbe - Nangololo
30 October 1969....Muidumbe
8 November 1969....Pemba
9 November 1969....Nyankoma
12 November 1969....Macomia
18 November 1969....Mpvesha
3 December 1969....Nandololo
11 December 1969....Nanyoka
12 December 1969....Namogia - Nandololo
29 December 1969....Sagal - Diaca
18 January 1970....Inhancoma
25 January 1970....Macomia
27 January 1970....Muaguide
2 February 1970....Madai
3 February 1970....N'gapa

Sabotage Operations

FRELIMO fighters undertook 51 mining operations, mainly in the zones of Nangade, Pundanhar, Sagal, Mueda, Mwaguide, Namaua, Chai and Porto Amelia.

A JOURNALIST IN FREE MOZAMBIQUE

By Peter Spacek

East Africa Correspondent of the German Democratic Republic
Broadcasting System

16 March, 1970

Having just returned from a visit in Cabo Delgado Province, it is my sincere wish to thank FRELIMO for this unique opportunity to see with my own eyes the tremendous successes of the liberation struggle, the life of the people in the liberated areas, and the problems FRELIMO is still confronted with.

Without any restrictions I was able to move around, to interview people, to take pictures and to make tape recordings wherever I wished. I came back full of unforgettable impressions and first hand information. Now to coin them into radio programmes and articles being adequate to the greatness of this struggle is a task even more difficult than my exhausting march through the bush--the longest march I ever undertook in my life. Because words are not enough to express the fighting spirit I met everywhere.

From the many overwhelming impressions I can mention here only a few and in a very general way: I knew before that FRELIMO holds large liberated areas and helps the people to build a new life. But I never expected it being so highly developed and effective up to the smallest detail: The agricultural production with maize, rice and cassava fields of dimensions which I thought unbelievable for guerrilla war conditions. The comprehensive health service--unfortunately

with very limited supply of medicines. The schools, under shelters or in the open air, with an enthusiastic atmosphere of learning by children and adults alike. The transport system--everything carried on shoulders or heads over hundreds of miles--not only for war material, but mainly for the export of cashew nuts and ground nuts in exchange for cloths, shoes, etc., needed for the people.

Far beyond my expectations are also the skill, the toughness and the military discipline of the freedom fighters. What I have seen are not wild or adventurous looking groups of guerrillas. It is a regular army with a conduct and a discipline any other army could be proud of if it had to fight under such conditions. And not only that: Each soldier knows what he is fighting for. I rarely had such lively and profound political discussions as in the Mozambican bush. Apart from their guns, most freedom fighters carried books with them, studying intensively when I needed nothing but a rest from the march.

I was wondering how people would react on my white face which is certainly a rare appearance in these days. But even without explanation, there was never any hostility. Quite the contrary, and as soon as the people we met on the way got explained what for I am there, I could not shake all the hands or answer all the "mashala" (welcome).

The area which I visited is Makonde area. A territory which--according to Western reports--should be "deserted" or where "FRELIMO had collapsed", since the Makonde chief Kavandame fled with his tribe to the Portuguese". I did not need to ask whether this is true or not. Most people around me had the typical Makonde 'tooning on their faces. But they feel and act as Mozambicans, not as members of a particular tribe. Kavandame's name I found mentioned nearly every day--in a satirical song, blaming him as a traitor, with the repeating line, "Beware".

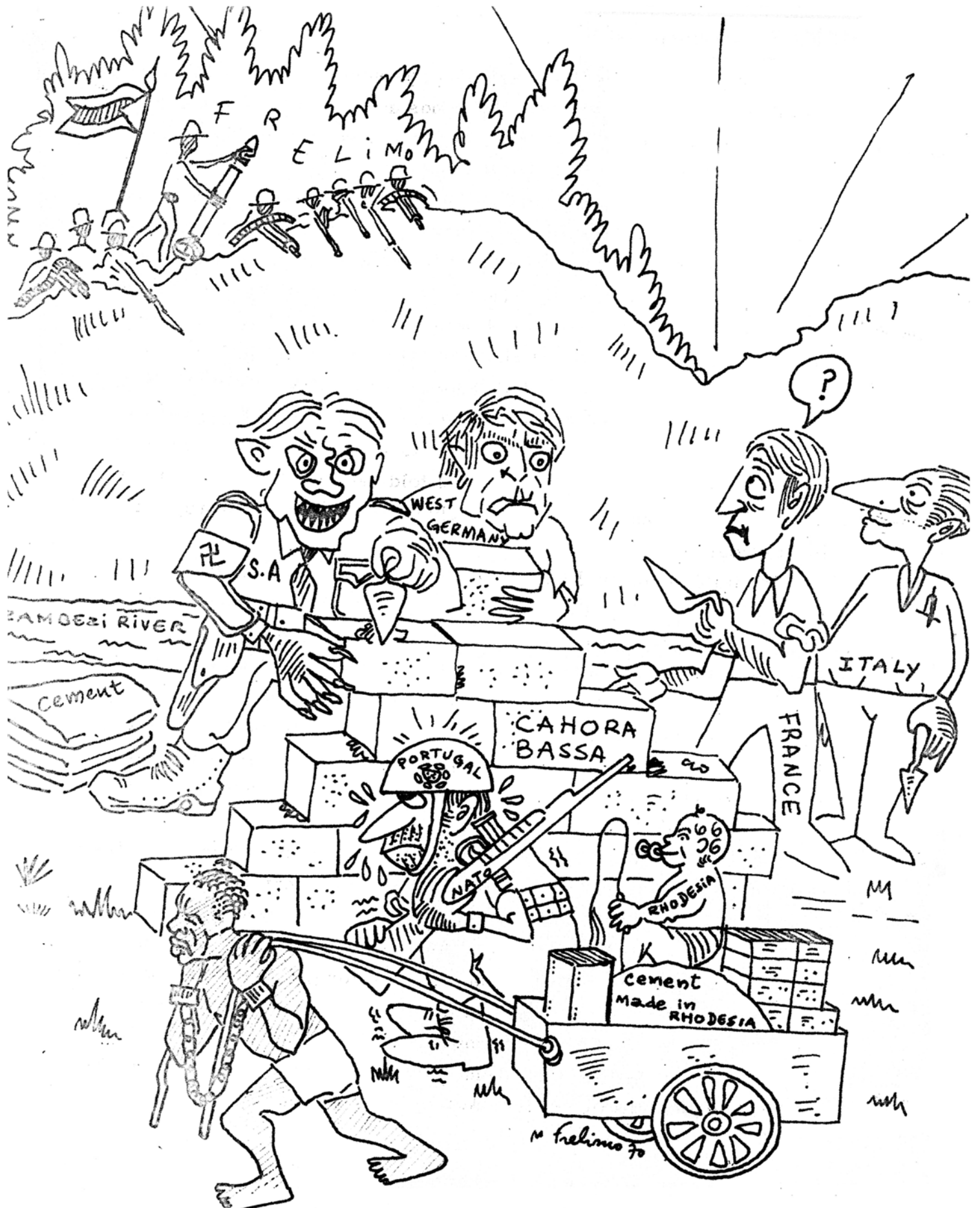
The second verse of this song with the same words, by the way, is dedicated to Simango, the former vice-president of FRELIMO. If

there is a "split" within the movement, as some people still suggest, then it is a split between many thousands and the individual. I was told of a recent mass meeting in one of the bases I visited. Out of 3000 participants only three knew Simango by face.

The by far deepest impression left on me is generally the human and political atmosphere I found everywhere--both within FRELIMO and between liberation army and civilian population as well (if one can draw a difference at all). Due to the language difficulties I could not understand all the talks. But also without understanding the words, one gets a feeling for the relationship between leaders and soldiers, between freedom fighters and villagers. It is a relationship of mutual understanding and trust which I found many indications for, a highly developed political and moral unity. I found ample evidence for what the army commander Samora Machel told me when I met him inside Mozambique: "Our struggle is not characterized by gunshots, but by political work."

One final remark: I am the first German who visited the free part of Mozambique. I have to underline this fact for one particular reason: Already on the second day of my trip I became eye witness of a Portuguese air attack, wounding women and children whom I saw later in a FRELIMO hospital in the bush. The bombs were dropped by a Dornier DO 27, a West German military plane supplied to Portugal. Among other NATO weapons I have also seen and photographed West German guns and machine guns which FRELIMO captured from Portuguese army bases.

FRELIMO leaders assured me that they know the difference between West Germany as one of the staunchest allies of Portugal, and the German Democratic Republic as one of those countries who support wholeheartedly the liberation struggle. As a German, however, I feel ashamed of what the other German state is doing. After my return from Mozambique, I consider as one of my most urgent tasks to contribute with my journalistic reports as much as possible to mobilize public opinion in order to force the West German government to withdraw its support for the enemies of the Mozambican people.



MOZAMBIQUE, November 1969



"The II Congress notes that the building of a new life in the liberated zones is a requirement of the struggle for national liberation. The liberated zones shall constitute the material basis for growth of our revolutionary armed struggle for national liberation.

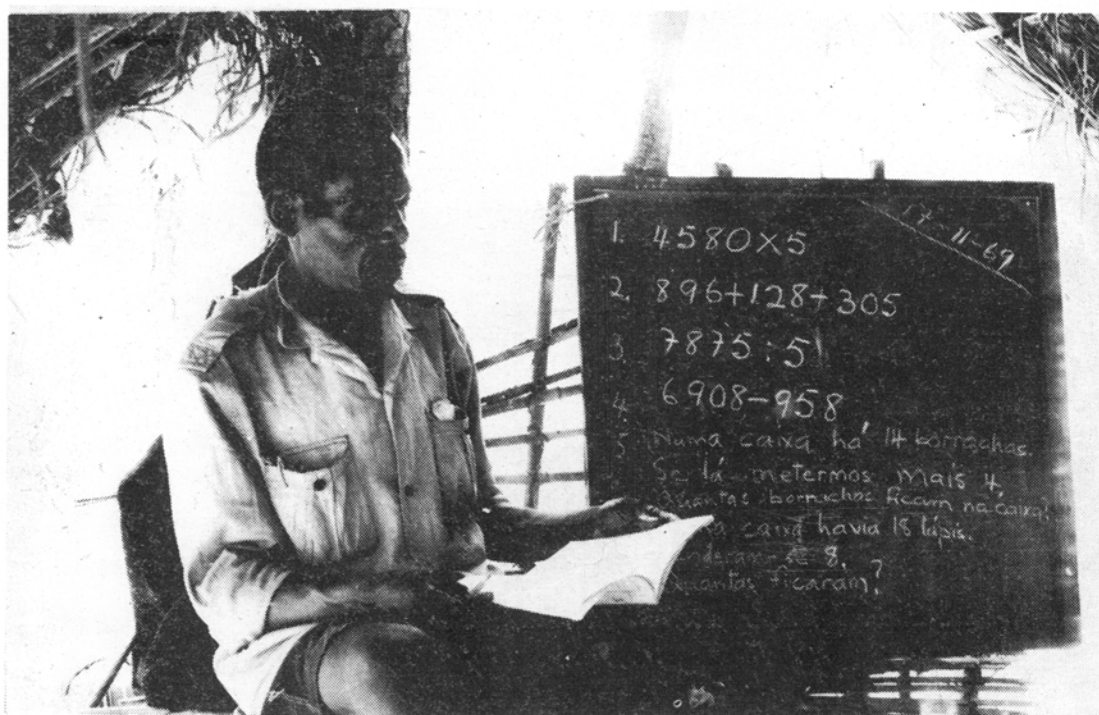
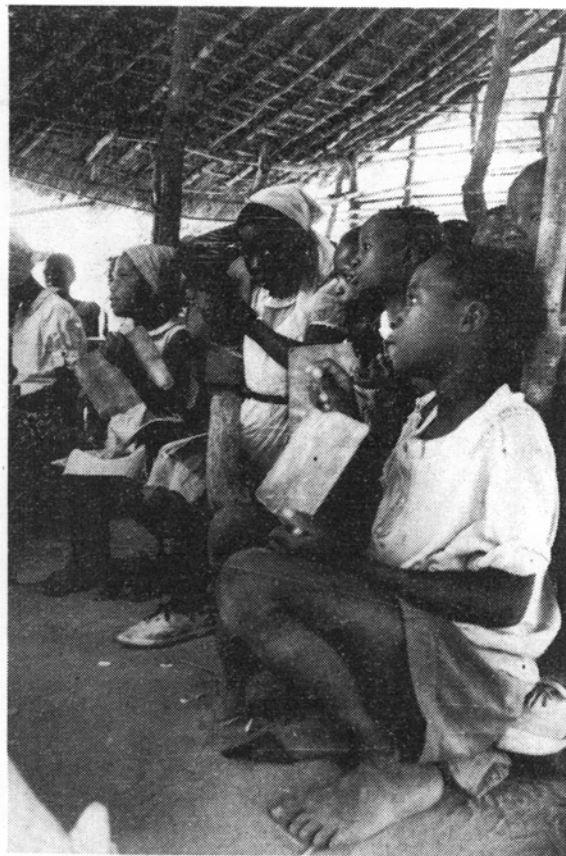
" Hand in hand with production, we shall ... promote the development of education and health services."



"... We have always attached such great importance to education because, in the first place, it is essencial for the development of our struggle, since the involvement and support of the population increase as their understanding of the situation grows; in the second place, a future independent Mozambique will be in very grave need of educated citizens to lead the way in development."

The Struggle for Mozambique

Eduardo Mondlane



THE ROME CONFERENCE

JUNE 1970

Portugal is a small country, practically devoid of important industries greatly depending on the exterior for its essential products. In the field of military equipment this dependence is almost total: aircraft, warships, machine-guns, all other types of guns and ammunition, are obtained from outside assistance.

On the other hand, the Portuguese government has been, particularly since 1965, following an open-door policy in the colonies, aiming at attracting investments from international capital, in order to ensure the commitment of capitalist powers to the Portuguese colonial adventure. The internationalisation of the plunder thus corresponds to a more accentuated international type of aggression.

Under these conditions, it becomes imperative for us to develop international solidarity with the peoples of the countries whose governments support the Portuguese colonial regime. These are, in the majority, the countries who are members of NATO. In order to further this aim an International Conference of Solidarity with the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies will be held in Rome, Italy, as a sequel to the Khartoum Conference of January, 1969. The preparatory meeting took place in Rome on the 22nd January, with the participation of numerous national and international, political and trade-union organisations, as well as the Committees of Support to the struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies formed in the different European countries. The preparatory meeting set the date of the Conference for 27, 28 and 29 June, 1970. The main subjects to be discussed will be :- (i) the progress of the armed liberation struggle; (ii) the work of national reconstruction; (iii) the juridical problems posed by the liberation struggle and by the colonial repression; and, (iv) in particular, the aid Portugal receives from the NATO countries and the action to be taken to stop this aid.

An International Preparatory Committee was established consisting of:- (1) the Liberation Movements of the Portuguese Colonies; represented by CONCP; (2) the Mobilisation Committee created at the Khartoum Conference; and (3) the Italian Initiative Committee. To the Italian Initiative Committee, which embraces the anti-colonial

forces in Italy - political, trade-unionist, resistance and youth organisations - was entrusted the task of organising the Conference in Rome. Extensive preparatory work in the fields of information and mobilisation will precede the Conference, in order that its success may be assured.

The holding of this Conference in Western Europe will give a great impetus to the activities of the peoples of those countries against the support of their governments for the Portuguese colonial policy; support which is manifested through military, political, financial and diplomatic assistance, and is today one of the main obstacles to the liberation of our peoples.

May the decade of the 1970's witness the development of a great international solidarity movement with the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea - Bissau and Cape Verde Islands.

We quote the Appeal issued by the Conference:

It is now nine years since the Angolan patriots of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola fired the first shots against the prisons of Luanda, thus bringing the process of liberation in the Portuguese colonies to a new level.

At a time when the colonial system in the rest of Africa, condemned by world opinion and the course of history, was at the point of collapse, the Portuguese government intensified its centuries-old policies of repression, domination and opposition to progress, putting a final stop to any possibility of independence being achieved by peaceful means.

Appeals to international public opinion, the firm denunciation of Portuguese colonialism by international bodies such as the United Nations, reiterated direct appeals to the Portuguese government have not been able to put an end to the colonial situation.

The launching of armed liberation struggle by the peoples of Angola, Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, and Mozambique appeared historically as the only possible path towards liberation left to our people and our nationalist movements.

So our people took to arms, thus fulfilling their own destinies and becoming the agents of their own liberation. Today the people are re-instated to their rights in large areas of Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique, which have been freed from colonial domination. National reconstruction is under way in these areas, through programmes of education, medical assistance and economic reorganisation, giving the people the opportunity of participating, for the first time in decades, in the building of their national society. The armed liberation struggle is spreading to increasingly large regions, thereby putting the Portuguese colonial presence in our countries radically to the test.

The struggle for our freedom and independence is closely linked with the cause of freedom throughout the world. First of all with the cause of the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia, oppressed like us by the racist and fascist coalition established by Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia and aimed at maintaining this whole southern region of Africa in a state of destitution and perpetual slavery. But our struggle also takes on international proportions because of the wide support given to Portugal by certain Western powers. Our struggle proves with greater clarity each day that the Portuguese government could not conduct a war on three fronts without extensive aid: the massive assistance in arms and all kinds of military equipment and the political, financial and diplomatic aid given by certain Western countries, especially those which are members of NATO. This solidarity behind the oppression and exploitation of the colonies calls for the solidarity of all free men and the progressive forces of the world. It calls in particular for the solidarity of the peoples whose governments are, morally and materially, one with the fascist Portuguese regime and its colonial policies.

In this context the mobilisation of public opinion in the West has become, through the development of our struggle, a task of the first importance. The Conference of solidarity with the peoples of the Portuguese colonies and Southern Africa held at Khartoum a year ago already showed a strong current of solidarity and friendship towards our struggle and our peoples.

Now the progress of our struggle makes it necessary that we hold a Conference in Western Europe, dedicated to an extensive mobilisation of world opinion and of a mass movement capable of imposing a change of attitude and direction on those governments which still support the colonial policies of the Portuguese fascist regime.

This Conference would also aim to strengthen the mobilisation of the forces in solidarity with the peoples of the colonies in practical support of the struggle and of the rights of these peoples.

The Preparatory Meeting for this Conference, which has taken place in Rome under the auspices of Italian political and trade union forces, has decided to hold the Conference at Rome, on 27, 28, 29 June.

We, the national liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies, the Mozambique Liberation Front, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the African Independence Party of Guinea and the Cape Verde, call on all organisations, political parties, trade unions and individuals - in fact on all supporters of the just struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies - to participate in the International Conference of Support and to strengthen the expression and the content of their solidarity. Not to be dispersed into sentimentality, this solidarity must stand as an expression of the deep interaction between the fight of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies against colonialism and

imperialism and the action of the peoples of Europe in the advancement of justice and social progress.

We strongly call on all these forces, in co-operation with the Preparatory Committee of the Conference, to take part in the work of information and mobilisation which will precede the Conference and will guarantee its success.

We hope that this Conference will help to build a large solidarity movement whose activities will lead to the isolation of the Portuguese government and an end to the aid given it by certain Western governments.

In this ^{is a} valuable form of support for our struggle, an historic contribution to our liberation.

Mozambique Liberation Front - FRELIMO

People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola - MPLA

African Independence Party of Guine and the Cape Verdes - PAIGC

Rome, 22 January, 1970

DUTCH PARLIAMENT CONDEMNS NATO SUPPORT TO PORTUGAL

The support that the governments of certain western countries render to the Portuguese colonialist government is facing a growing opposition from their own peoples.

The Dutch government is renowned for increasing its support to the Portuguese government within the framework of NATO, as well as of other international organisations such as the UN. The Dutch delegation is part of the minority that systematically votes in favour of Portugal in the General Assembly of the UN, where the colonialist Portuguese policy is invariably condemned by a crushing majority.

This attitude of the Dutch Government, which places it side by side with notoriously dictatorial and racist powers like South Africa and Spain, does not conform with the anti-colonial feelings of the majority of the Dutch people. Large sectors of opinion, among political parties, cultural, religious and youth organisations, have expressed their deep opposition to this pro-colonialist attitude on the part of their government. The Dutch Parliament, also concerned by the extent of the support of its government to the colonialist Portuguese regime, echoed the general feelings of the people at the parliamentary debate on external policy.

The problem was examined for the first time in February and June, 1969. A majority of the Dutch parliament strongly criticised the government for its close links with and sympathetic attitude towards Portuguese policy in Africa and insisted that the Dutch government should clearly disassociate itself from that policy.

One of the main forms of Dutch support for Portugal occurs within the structure of NATO, whose contribution to the pursuance of the colonial war has proved to be decisive. In October, 1969, the Dutch Angola-Comite, an organisation of support for the peoples under Portuguese colonialism, published an extensive study "Portugal and NATO", in which is documented in an irrefutable form the participation of the structure and material of NATO in the repression of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea.

On January 27th of this year the representatives of the three movements of the Portuguese colonies MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO were received in the Hague by the Commission of Foreign Affairs in the Dutch parliament. They raised among other points the need to put an end to the help given to the Portuguese Government. At the annual Parliamentary debate on external policy that took place on the 10, 11, and 12 of last February, the Parliament's criticism was directed with great intensity against the government's policies, aiming particularly at the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Luns, for his continued support to Portugal. A motion was passed almost unanimously:-

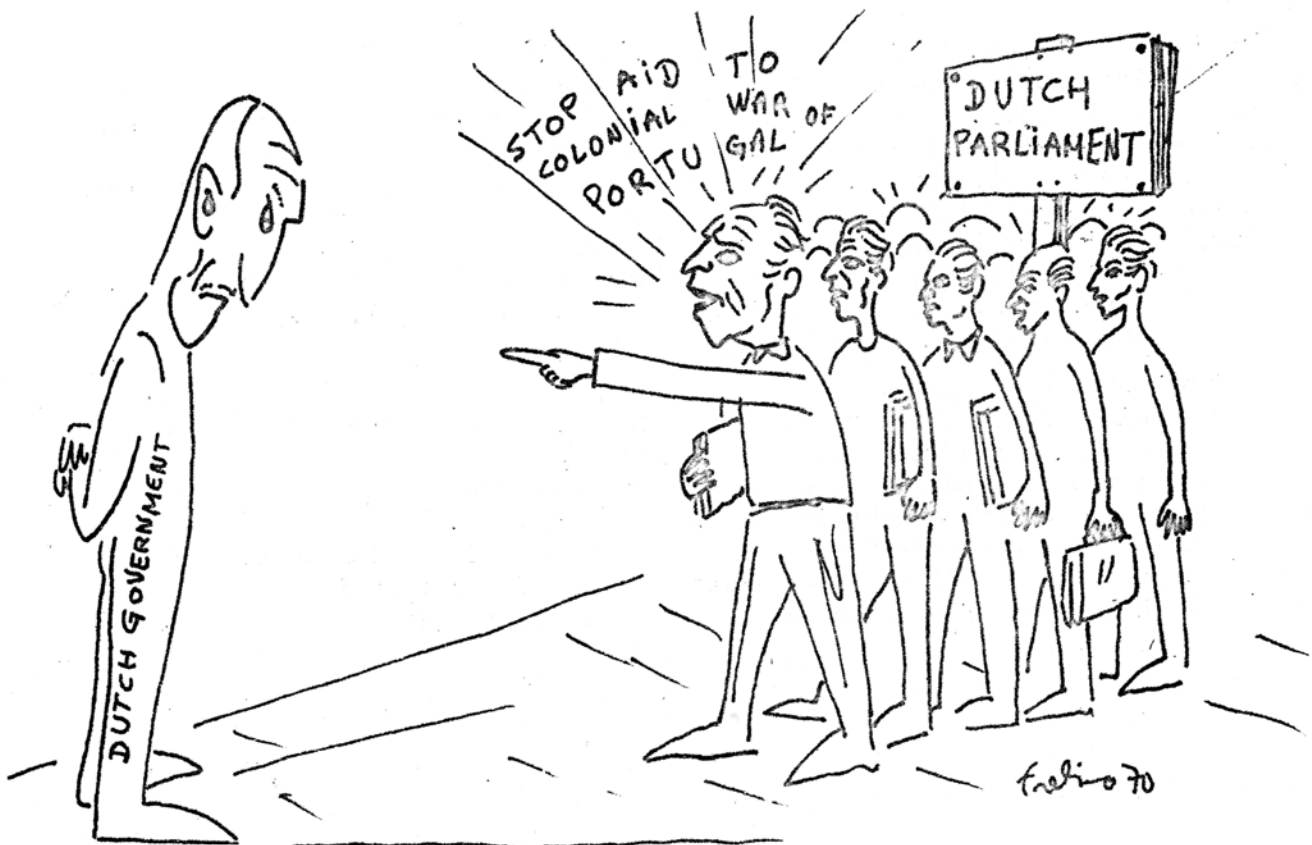
"The Dutch parliament, agreeing that any support to the colonial war of suppression, waged by Portugal in Africa should be rejected, alarmed by the supply of arms to Portugal which are used or can be used in the African territories of this country, invites the government to urge the Western allies which supply arms to Portugal and in the appropriate international organisations of which the Netherlands and one or more of these allies are members,

to respect in letter and spirit the resolution of the Security Council concerning these supplies."

In the course of discussion, it was clarified that the "international organisations" referred to were the UN and NATO. Also, the Dutch parliament strongly condemned the diplomatic support given to Portugal and deplored in particular the vote of the Dutch delegation against the 2507 resolution of 28/11/66 of the General Assembly. This resolution affirms the right of the people of the Portuguese colonies to self-determination and independence.

The new attitude of the Dutch parliament is an expression of the large current of sympathy and solidarity that exists among the people of all countries for the just struggle of the people of the Portuguese colonies to gain their national independence.

FRELIMO has repeatedly stressed that its struggle is not directed against the Portuguese people, nor against any other people in the world, but against the Portuguese colonial regime which is supported by the imperialist countries. To the people of these countries falls the important task of taking action to dissociate their governments from the policy of the Portuguese colonialists. And to ensure that they discontinue the economic and military and diplomatic support that is at present given to Portugal, both bilaterally and in the framework of NATO.





VLADIMIR ILICH LENIN 1870—1970

Based on the article "Lenin and the Revolution", published in FRELIMO internal bulletin

On the 22nd April 1970, we, along with millions of people over the world, will celebrate the centenary of the birth of the great revolutionary Vladimir Ilitch Lenin.

Lenin died almost half a century ago. At that time the Portuguese were just finishing their "pacification" campaign in Mozambique, trying to subjugate the Barue tribe. FRELIMO was created 38 years after his death. However, Lenin's thoughts, work and example still today constitute a source of inspiration for the Mozambican people, and for all revolutions in the world.

The importance of Lenin for us, as peoples fighting against colonialism and imperialism, can be seen in several ways. Lenin was both a great revolutionary thinker and a great revolutionary leader; the translation of his thoughts into practice led the Russian Revolution, to a decisive victory. The October Socialist Revolution, by creating the first socialist state in the world, established the basis for the creation of the socialist camp. And this event, by changing the relation of forces in the world between imperialism and the revolutionary movement, created the conditions favourable for the success of the liberation struggles of the colonised peoples. There appeared in the world plane a solid material and moral rear base, which, by its very existence, neutralised a considerable part of the military and economic power of imperialism.

Lenin formulated principles and directives many of which, although based on the concrete and specific conditions of Russia at the beginning of this century, are universally valid, because they reflect the interests of the people, and are the formulation, clarification or application of the general laws of scientific socialism. These principles and rules, beginning

with the concept of Social Revolution itself, which Lenin defined as a deep and essential change in the society, "a sharp turn in the lives of a vast number of people", in all fields, namely political, economic and cultural, aimed at putting an end to exploitation, and at placing power in the hands of the working masses, are today familiar to all true revolutionaries.

The usually violent nature of the revolution was stressed by Lenin, who explains that the bourgeois, the minority privileged class, will never voluntarily agree to give the power to the class of the exploited and oppressed, and that it will therefore be necessary to wrest that power by force: "It is very probable- even most probable - that the bourgeois will not make peaceful concessions to the proletariat and at the decisive moment will resort to violence for the defense of its privileges. In that case, no other way will be left to the proletariat for the achievement of its aim but the revolution."

He also emphasised the need for organisation, unity and correct and strong leadership for any revolution to be able to succeed: "In the struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organisation....the proletariat can, and inevitably will, become an invincible force only through its ideological unification...being reinforced by the material unity of organisation, which welds millions of toilers into an army of the working class. "...Without a party of iron, that has been tempered in the struggle, a party enjoying the confidence of all honest people in the class in question, a party capable of watching and influencing the mood of the masses, such a struggle cannot be waged successfully."

Lenin experienced the difficulties derived from the initial disproportion of forces, which lead many comrades to abandon the struggle, convinced that victory is not possible. Lenin said, referring to the Russian Revolution: "He who turns away from the socialist revolution now taking place in Russia and points to the obvious disproportion of forces is like the conservative 'man in a muffler' who cannot see further than his nose, who forgets that not a single historical change of any importance takes place without there being several instances of a disproportion of forces. Forces grow in the process of the struggle, as the revolution grows".

Lenin stressed that the revolution, in order to be victorious, must be truly popular, that is, must count upon the participation of the masses of the people. Because - he explains - the larger the part of the population that participates in the revolution, and fights for its victory, the deeper are the changes that can be undertaken. Thus Lenin established the difference between the bourgeois revolutions, and the socialist revolutions. The first of these are led and guided by small groups who, pretending to be fighting for progress and freedom, succeed in winning the support of the masses, but who, after having won the political power, use it only to satisfy their personal interests. True socialist revolutions, on the other hand, are characterised by the active participation of the working masses - because the goal of these revolutions correspond to the interests of the majority of the society, at least of all exploited people. And, after the conquest of political power, the people's participation continues; it is the people who will build the new social system.

In this people's revolutionary struggle almost always of a violent nature, the armed forces play a fundamental role, Lenin analysed the role of the revolutionary army: "The task of the units (of the revolutionary army) is to proclaim the insurrection, to give the masses military leadership,...; to create strong points for the open mass struggle; to spread the uprising to neighbouring districts; to establish complete political freedom, if only at first in a small part of the country; to embark on the revolutionary transformation of the decayed absolutist system; and to give full scope to the revolutionary creative activity of the masses, who participate but little in this activity in time of peace, but who come to the fore front in revolutionary epochs".

This creative activity of the people, which manifests itself in an almost explosive way in the revolution, was an object of special comment by Lenin. He notes how the people, who were before more or less a passive object of force and manipulation, become now an active force who can create their own world, only limited by the laws of nature and of the revolution. Lenin said: "The revolutions are the feasts of the oppressed and exploited peoples. There is no other time, but the time of the revolution, for the masses of the people to advance so actively, as creators of a new social order. In that time the people are able to perform miracles...."

A very important point in the teachings of Lenin concerns the position to be taken regarding the bourgeois state which has been overthrown. This is a real problem, with which several liberation movements have already been confronted: must the colonialist bureaucratic-administrative machine be destroyed, or must it be maintained, just replacing the men who control it? Lenin said on this subject that the working class must break up, smash the 'ready-made state machinery', and not confine itself merely to laying hold of it. "...all previous revolutions perfected the state machine, whereas it must be broken, smashed".

The tendency to limit the revolution to mere change of persons in the governing machine, defended even by people actually engaged in the revolution, derives from the permanence of bourgeois habits among ourselves. Many "revolutionaries" do not in fact want a revolution - they want to oust the colonialists, the bourgeois, the exploiters, and take their place. In the ranks of any revolutionary movement this is a constant problem. The struggle against the colonial inheritance is one of the most difficult tasks in any revolution: "...but the reorganisation of the fundamental conditions of economic life, the struggle against habits that in the course of hundreds and thousands of years have become second nature...is something that requires many long years of persistent organisational work after the exploiting classes have been completely overthrown".

The strong need for education was stressed by Lenin. Everywhere the oppressing classes keep the people at the lowest possible level of illiteracy, knowing that in this way domination is easier. Thus, it is a task of the revolution, and a condition of its success, to promote the education of everybody. Lenin wrote: "The working people are thirsting for knowledge because they need it to win. Nine out of ten of the working people have realised that knowledge is a weapon in their struggle for emancipation, that their failures are due to lack of education, and that it is up to them really to give everyone access to education"....In order to renovate our

state apparatus we must at all costs set out, first, to learn, secondly, to learn, and thirdly, to learn, and then see to it that learning shall not remain a dead letter, or a fashionable catch-phrase...that learning shall really become part of our very being, that it shall actually and fully become a constituent element of our social life".

Lenin pointed out the extreme importance of the national liberation movement, the inevitability of the dismembering of the colonial system from imperialism, and foresaw that the struggle of the peoples of the colonies, firstly directed towards national liberation, will turn, in its development, against capitalism. He also foresaw that the national liberation wars against imperialism would lead to an imperialist war of the "great" imperialist powers.

These are just a few points in the immense work of Lenin. We have chosen them because it is already possible to see the relevance of these ideas to our revolution: we also want a total revolution; ours is a people's revolution, with the full participation of the masses; we had to resort to violence, because the Portuguese colonialists refused to give us back voluntarily our freedom and independence; we face problems of organisation, unity and development of a party; we had (and continue to have) comrades who desert by seeing that the enemy is stronger than us and seeing independence still far away; we had to fight (and are fighting) against those who wanted to take the place of the colonialists; we give education fundamental importance; we are experiencing the direct and indirect aggression of the imperialist powers.

The fact that the problems we are facing today were experienced by other revolutions and were overcome constitutes a source of encouragement for all of us. The Mozambican revolution is essentially Mozambican. It is not copied from any other revolution, but is dictated by the interests of our people and by the solidarity with the other peoples who are also fighting against colonialism and imperialism. But a people's revolution has characteristics in common with other people's revolutions, no matter in what time or in which place, the experiences of other revolutions help us to find solutions for certain of our problems, to foresee certain phases of our revolutionary process, to find the most suitable formulas to characterise our situation at each moment.

It is because of this that we honour Lenin, and the centenary of his birth. He was a great revolutionary fighter and thinker, a man whose vision went beyond that of his own generation and society into our own age and place. He inspires us who fight against imperialism and exploitation of man by man, for progress, justice and peace.

...

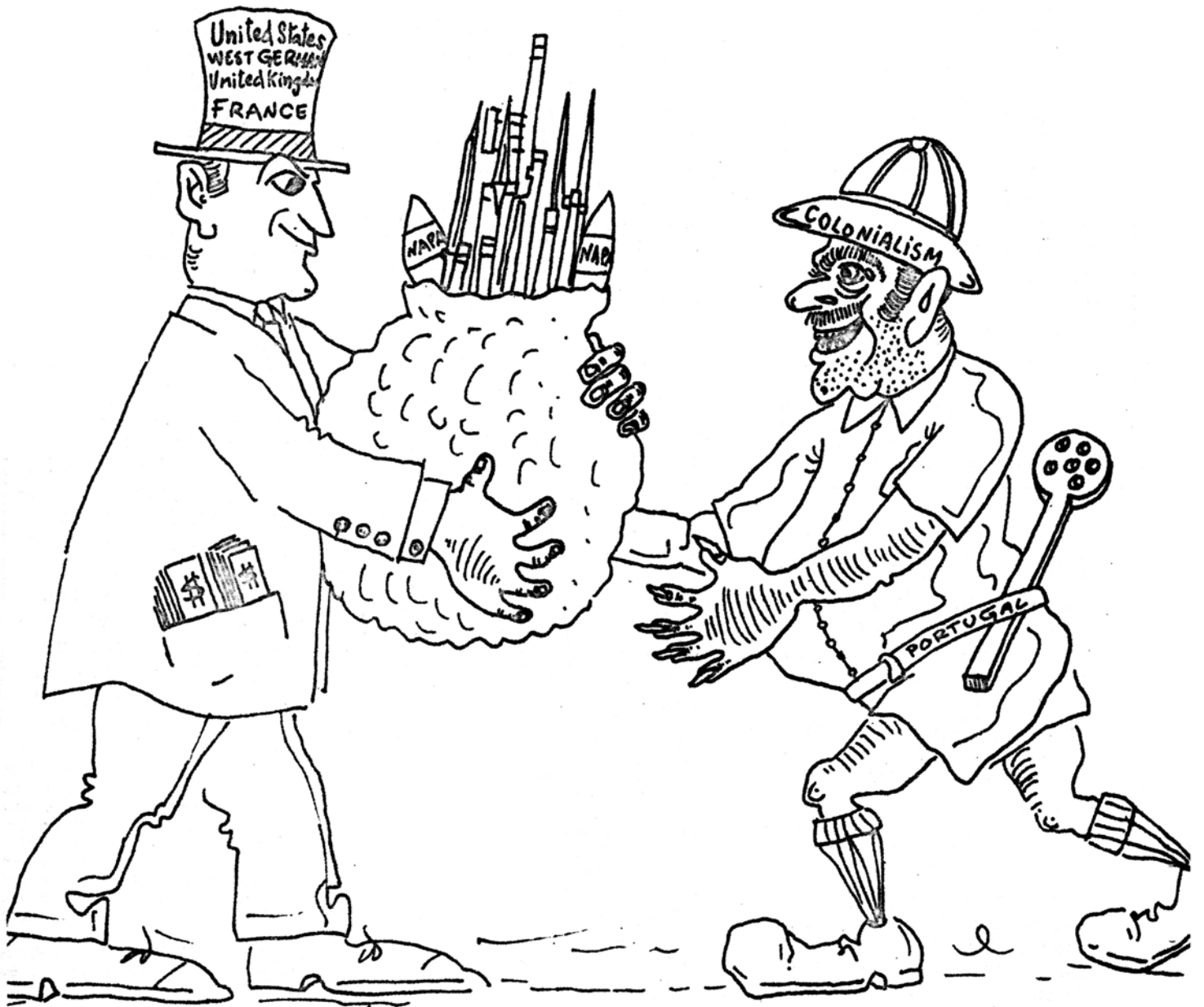
"Through many trials and vicissitudes the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under Lenin's wise leadership, not only was able to ward off these imperialist attempts to stop the socialist revolution but it also went on to reorganise the political, economic, social, cultural and scientific life of the whole country. The vitality which was thus generated in the life of the people of the Soviet Union was such that not even the whole might of fascist Germany and her East European reactionaries could withstand their strength. After one of the most costly wars in terms of human life and material wealth, the people of the Soviet Union, led by the Communist Party, set their energies to the task of rebuilding their ravaged country while at the same time doing everything possible to support those who were fighting for national independence and those whom, inspired by Lenin's successes were launching socialist revolutions in their own lands.

...

To these people who are still battling to realise the revolution in their own countries 1917 is not only an example. For the success of the first proletarian revolution has paved the way for the success of others: Marxist thought, which as a result has been developed and spread through the world, helps the people to understand the causes of their misery and how to eliminate them; while the existence of a number of countries already socialist and strong is a source of support for the young revolutions against the powerful imperialist alliances which confront them. Today's revolutions will be won by the courage, determination and intelligence of the people who are fighting them, but the way will be a little easier and victory will come a little sooner because of previous people's victories."

Dr. Eduardo Mondlane
President of FRELIMO
November, 1967

IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACY



AFRICA ON W.GERMANY

On the 9th Feb. a Tanzanian Newspaper, THE NATIONALIST, organ of the Tanzanian political party TANU, published an editorial in which it analyses the imperialist drive to maintain and strengthen its control over Southern Africa. The Editorial is centered on W. German participation in Cahora Bassa - which is just one aspect of the much broader W. German support for Portugal's colonial policy. The editorial represents the position of progressive Africa concerning that issue. We quote from the editorial:

FAR-SIGHTED

The bloody struggle against Portuguese colonialism continues in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau. It will continue until ultimate triumph.

But the struggle will be a long one; let no-one join thinking that somehow victory will come next week or next year. The enemies of Africa care nothing for the people of Africa; they care only for their profits. They will strengthen their oppression as and when necessary to increase those profits, even while they speak sweet words of sympathy to us.

So it is by actions that we must judge other peoples and other nations, not by words. And when they take actions which affect the people of Africa, our policies of non-alignment and non-interference do not require that we stay silent.

The Portuguese have decided to build a dam at Cahora Bassa. They intend that it shall strengthen the colonial economy of Mozambique as well as provide power for South Africa and Rhodesia. It is a big and expensive scheme; it is highly doubtful whether these three countries can finance and build the dam without outside help.

Africa's opposition to this scheme is well-known and so is the reason for it. If this scheme succeeds, the struggle for freedom will become even more difficult; its cost in human lives will be greatly increased.

A Swedish Company had originally obtained an important part of the building contract for this dam. It was forced to withdraw because of firm action by the Swedish Socialist Youth and the Swedish Socialist Government. The Liberation Movements and the free states of Africa hailed the Swedish gesture of human solidarity.

Then came a proposal that a British firm should replace the Swedish contractors. Immediately socialists in Britain organised to express their opposition in Parliament and elsewhere. Their pressure on the British Government had an effect. Finally the Portuguese themselves decided that the British firm could not be relied upon; at any time it might be forced to withdraw. It is appropriate that Africa should congratulate its friends in Britain for this success.

But now Siemens, the big capitalist firm of the Federal Republic of Germany, has accepted the contract and its profits stained with the sweat and blood of Southern African peoples. There has so far been no evidence that the Portuguese think these arrangements with Germany will be untenable. Nor have we heard from the new Social Democratic Government of Germany on this issue.

Does this mean that West Germany, despite changes in its European policies, has finally and irrevocably chosen its side in the Southern African conflict? Surely it can mean little else. Yet is it not strange that a country claiming to be concerned about human liberty, and claiming to have overcome its inheritance of racism, should be strengthening colonial oppression and racial inequality in Southern Africa? Does Germany think we do not care? Or that we do not notice?

The editorial concludes by expressing disappointment at the position of the new "democratic" government of West Germany, and warning that Tanzania (and, we add, the whole of progressive Africa) is vigilant to their manoeuvres:

The German record so far in selling arms to South Africa, and in relation to Rhodesia, is bad - to say the least. But we had expected that a Social Democratic Government would speak with a new voice and would at least prevent any extension of German support for the racist oppression in Southern Africa.

Tanzania should watch this situation closely. By acts we judge, and by actions we will be judged.

OPEN LETTER

to the Chancellor
of the Federal Republic of Germany

The Honourable Mr. Willy Brandt
Your Excellency,

You will probably be very surprised to receive this letter. We ourselves hesitated before taking the initiative of writing it - some of us were opposed to the idea, saying that it was useless, that a government like yours, so closely linked with our enemies, could not be led to change its position by mere letters. But after some discussion we decided to write to you anyway. We who fight for the triumph of justice have a basic confidence in the good faith of men; we believe that if they act wrongly it may be because they do not know the truth, the reality. And so we feel it our duty to explain to them, to make them see the wrongness of their behaviour.

Mr. Chancellor, your country is in the forefront of the countries who support Portuguese colonialism. With weapons, soldiers, technical assistance, investments. And this, obviously, makes the relations between our people and your Government particularly distant and difficult. Distant - because, who can measure the distance from where the aircraft come that drop the bombs and the people upon whom they fall? Difficult - because it is that precisely - the marking or origin of the weapons, aircraft, ammunition - the only knowledge our people have of Western Germany. A more recent phase has shown us a less militaristic but equally repulsive aspect of your country, through the names of your companies which come to participate in the colonialist projects.

Your Excellency, it is not by chance that your country is today condemned by the totality of the African countries represented by the OAU itself. Your ambassador in Tanzania was very inept when he tried to oppose those condemnations, saying, "Why are we being attacked when we are not the only one to have trade links with Southern Africa". This, obviously, is a ridiculous argument - the one of someone who cannot find the words to cover something of which he is ashamed. It is also an evasion of responsibility.

But your ambassador went further: being in an African revolutionary country, completely opposed to the policy of his government, seeing the image of his country tarnished, he tried to repair that damage declaring that, "West Germany supports the liberation movements like FRELIMO, although only morally".

We would like to recommend, Mr. Chancellor, that your ambassador should be advised to weigh well his words before pronouncing them. Because we may be tempted to ask when, where, and how has the Government of West Germany at any time expressed any kind of support, even simply moral, to FRELIMO. And the answer being negative, your ambassador would seem grossly irresponsible, which is a particularly grave offense, especially regarding ambassadors.

However, there is always a time for that support to begin. And precisely at this moment, West Germany is involved in a major adventure with colonial Portugal in Mozambique. To stop it would be for you to show your good faith.

We are referring to the participation of the West German company Siemens in the construction of the Cahora Bassa Dam, in Mozambique. ASEA, from the Social Democratic Sweden, and English Electric, from the Labour Government of Britain, became aware of (or their governments made them aware) the implications of the Cahora Bassa project in the consolidation of power of the white minorities of Southern Africa; and they withdrew from the Consortium. That project, in fact, proves irrefutably that the massive investments in the Portuguese colonies are aimed at consolidating the colonial domination of our countries. Contrary to the example set by those two companies, Siemens has accepted to replace them. We are not surprised at the logic of Siemens - after all, ASEA and English Electric did not retire willingly.

But what surprised us was the absolute silence from you and your Government - that you had nothing to say, when among the Social Democrats in Sweden and the Labourites in England strong voices were raised against this project. Your silence is what astonishes us: What is the meaning of your social democracy? That even the breaking of the sanctions voted in the United Nations against Rhodesia has not impressed you - this is what deceives us in a government which claims to be zealous in regard to "Law and Order". Does it mean that the policy of the previous West German Government is to continue? You are no doubt aware, Your Excellency, that last year your country delivered 3 warships to Portugal, built in your shipyards 'Blohm' and 'Voss', in Hamburg. They were the largest ships built in West Germany since the Second World War. They were worth 40 million dollars. They were to be used in the colonies, against our people. The West German

Government knew that before delivering them. The Portuguese did not make a secret of this - in their magazine Navy Review of 31.5.69, they announced that they had already received one of three warships from West Germany, and that, "those ships, provided with their own private helicopters and equipped for intensive use in the Overseas Provinces, are aimed not only at supporting our fleets of patrol boats and launches there, but also at fulfilling different sovereignty missions...". They were delivered by the Kiesinger Government, which preceded you. We were not surprised. But we expect a different attitude from you.

Your Excellency, we invite you to review these matters. The friendship between our peoples, between the West German people and the peoples of Africa is worth much more than some additional million marks which the Siemens business will bring to you.

At the same time, we would ask you to make an examination of the whole West German policy regarding colonial Portugal. It is past the time to put an end to the collusion between fascist Portugal and your country - a collusion which started when the Portuguese Government flew its flag at half-mast on the occasion of Hitler's death. It is time for your country to cease to carry the tragic infamy of being the devoted supplier and the greedy investor in the minority racist regimes. It is time that the Deutsch Mark, which you have just revalued on the financial market, lose its tinge of blood and suffering.

We remain, Sir,

Yours respectfully,

The Mozambique Liberation Front
(FRELIMO)

19th March, 1970
Dar es Salaam

U.S.A. - HOW FAR FROM INTERVENTION ?

Last November a highly-placed member of the U.S. Government, Mr. Charles Bob Moore, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, paid a discreet (and for us highly disquieting) visit to Mozambique. He visited Tete Province, where the Portuguese intend to build Africa's biggest dam, at Cahora Bassa. It is believed that he also flew to some strongholds still controlled by the Portuguese, in Niassa Province. Mr. Moore's visit was official - he had a specific mission. What was that mission?

It is almost impossible to know exactly. As we said, the visit took place with a minimum of publicity - and the result of the negotiations was not announced. However, there are some facts which allow us to draw conclusions, at least as to the reasons for this visit and the subject of the negotiations.

One of these facts is the US policy regarding Southern Africa, which was defined by President Nixon in his address to the Congress, on 18th February, 1970. Mr. Nixon stated that the US "cannot accept that progressive change in Southern Africa should come about by force". In other words, he says that the African people under sujugation must still try to convince "by peaceful means" the colonialist governments and the racist minorities to renounce their dominant position and accept a majority government. Mr. Nixon is aware that those fascist regimes barbarically repress any political activity from the African nationalists; that the colonialists and racists are armed to the teeth to defend their privileged positions; that they have already declared, openly, that they will never accept to be ruled by Africans. Mr. Nixon knows this. He knows that to follow his line would mean to condemn ourselves to perpetual slavery. But is this not precisely what the US is aiming at? That we continue as colonies - providing a valuable source of raw materials, extensive markets, and strategic military bases - through the intermediary of Portugal - for the US and other imperialist powers?

The US imports from Africa all the tantalite she uses; $\frac{3}{4}$ of her cobalt, $\frac{1}{2}$ of her manganese and chrome, $\frac{1}{4}$ of her industrial diamonds, $\frac{1}{5}$ of her lead, and large quantities of uranium. US investments in Africa exceed 2,500,000,000 dol, and US exports to Africa total 1,300,000,000-dol. The majority of this trade is with Southern Africa (exports to South Africa alone totalled 500 million dollars in 1969).

The US interest in African markets and materials grows continuously. Until recently only a few African countries, considered by Washington to be "stable", chief of which was South Africa, were "favoured" by big American finance. Today, the US extends her tentacles everywhere, in an attempt to compensate for the "loss" caused to her by the emergence of nationalist governments, which are seen as a threat to her interests, in many regions of the world.

It is in this whole context that we have to analyse the US policy regarding Southern Africa. In Mozambique, in the past few years, the US has decidedly launched itself in an assault on deposits of oil and gas. Until 1968 there was only one oil company in Mozambique - Gulf Oil. From 1968 up until the present, six more American companies have entered the economic scene of Mozambique: Pan-American Oil Company, Sunray Oil Company, Clark Oil Company, Skelly Company, Texaco Incorporated, and Hunt International Petroleum Company. Most of these companies operate in the South and Centre of our country, in regions not yet affected directly by the armed struggle. But some companies have started to cast covetous eyes on the regions controlled by FRELIMO: some of them, led by Hunt International, have requested (and were granted) large areas for oil prospecting, along Rovuma River, in Niassa Province.

This region being in control of FRELIMO, it will be necessary to defeat the guerrillas and launch a "pacification campaign" before the American Companies are able to explore the oil there. This may mean an increase in US assistance from the companies involved; and official, mainly military assistance, from the US Government, under pressure from the oil interests. And if we relate this situation to the strong rumours that the US Government is very interested in the port of Nacala, (which alone can accomodate the whole of the US 7th fleet and is in an extraordinarily valuable strategic position), it is easy to conclude that a more direct involvement of the US in the Mozambican war cannot be excluded.

It is within this context that the visit of Mr. Moore to Northern Mozambique must be seen. In view of the situation described above, the mission cannot be entirely innocent (to say the least), and is a cause of grave concern to the Mozambican people. We remember Vietnam, Laos, Dominican Republic, Cuba, Congo Kinshasa ...

CAHORA BASSA & BARCLAYS D.C.O.

It now appears likely that English Electric will not, after all, replace the Swedish firm ASEA in the ZAMCO consortium. The West German firm of SIEMENS will almost certainly get the job. However, as all members of ZAMCO will subcontract parts of the work they are responsible for and buy materials from abroad, GEC-EE could still take part in the project - and indeed many other firms could get involved at this level.

But at the moment attention in Britain is being concentrated on Barclay's Bank D.C.O. (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas), a London-based subsidiary of the Barclays Bank. Apart from undertaking the construction of the dam, ZAMCO have been able to arrange for the financing of it. Some of the money will come from a syndicate led by the South African Union Acceptance and including the French Banque de Paris and Barclays D.C.O. A Barclays spokesman has confirmed that: "We are admittedly in this but I cannot disclose the amount." (Sunday Times 14/12/69).

The intermingling web of western European investment in South Africa, which necessarily dictates that they must defend white supremacy to the last is nowhere better illustrated than in the financing of Cahora Bassa - a testimony to the inseparability of economic and political interest and power.

Barclays D.C.O. has 1703 branches in 42 countries: 909 (53%) are in Southern Africa. In 1969 the bank reported a 22% increase in net profit to £5½ million after tax. However, this figure only gives the amount the company cares to reveal, for although the British Clearing Banks will in future have to make full disclosure of profits, the overseas banks are allowed to publish profit figures after unknown deductions for depreciation and transfer to reserves. Barclays D.C.O.'s biggest sphere of operations is in South Africa, where it has the right to trade as the 'National Bank of South Africa'. It is therefore hardly surprising that Barclay's Chairman, Sir Frederick Seebohm should sit on the committee of the United Kingdom South Africa Trade Association.

Although operating under a facade of trade promotion UKSATA is a political pressure group whose principal activities at the present are attempts to lift the arms embargo on South Africa, attempts which have been highly successful as far as the Conservative opposition is concerned. UKSATA also organises British industrial companies, Chambers of Commerce, and other industrial organisations to exact pressure on the Government to tighten further the links between Britain and South Africa which keep the white minority regime in power. Pressure is also exerted through such bodies as the Confederation of British Industries and the British National Export Council. It seems significant that UKSATA shares an office with the South African Committee of the Export Council.

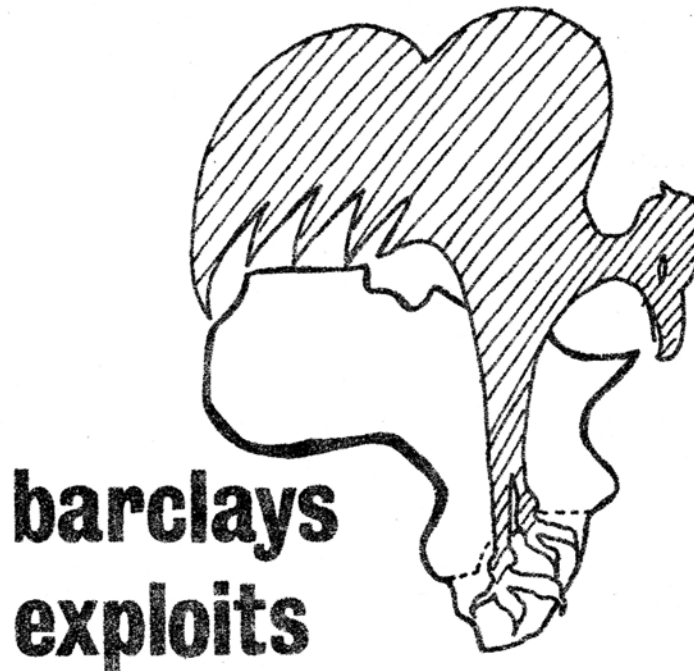
This involvement of Barclay's chairman was the subject of a recent letter from the Zambian Government, backed by Uganda and Tanzania, accusing the bank of indulging in political activities prejudicial to the interests of Zambia. The letter also referred to Barclay's association with the publication "Southern Africa", 'a politically orientated journal which favours the Southern African government and follows a line opposed to the interests of the Republic of Zambia'. A recent issue of "Southern Africa" explained: 'Nationalism is the exclusive possession of the community or nation which evolved it. This is why it is understandable that black African peoples refuse to be pseudo-Europeans. This is why no true so-called "multi-racialism" exists in Africa. Recent events suggest that in Africa the European and African personalities cannot be coerced into one political system - one is bound to dominate the other'. Barclays D.C.O. is the largest regular advertiser and hence the main source of revenue for this journal.

One of the bank's largest customers is Anglo-American Corporation, a complex of mining, financial and industrial companies that dominate South Africa's economy (de Beers diamond company, 29 gold mining, 26 coal and 6 platinum mining companies etc. with profits of £19 million in 68/69), just happens to be the leader of the ZAMCO consortium. The Chairman of Anglo-American is Harry Oppenheimer who is also a director of Barclay's D.C.O.

Sidney Spiro is another director of both Anglo-American and Barclays D.C.O. He is also Deputy Chairman of Charter Consolidated, which acts as Anglo-American's overseas arm. It is a London-based international mining and finance company with assets of a current value of approximately £375 million. (Annual Report 1969), 38% of these assets are in South Africa and Charter acts as share transfer secretaries to 58 South African mining and investment companies. The market value of these assets appreciated 50% in 1968.

Barclays D.C.O. is also involved in Rhodesia, where another Anglo-American director, Sir Frederick Crawford, is a member of its board there. Last year in a debate in the House of Commons he was described as one of the Smith Regime's 'most active supporters.'

This is just one example of the interlocking interests of Anglo-South African capital and white supremacy. Our friends in Britain are already organising a large-scale attack on this conspiracy. The newly formed Dam Busters Mobilising Committee is starting an intensive campaign not only to prevent any British participation in Cahora-Bassa, but also, in their own words, 'to declare war on the United Kingdom and international monopolies which seek to maintain the status quo both here and there.'



THE MYSTERY OF MR. GISCARD D'ESTAING SAFARI

There has been considerable speculation over the visit to Mozambique a few months ago of M. Valery Giscard d'Estang, the French Minister of Finance - both because of the eminence of the man himself and the complete mystery and secrecy in which the visit was shrouded.

While officials in Paris were maintaining that he was still in France and had merely gone away with his family for a weekend car-trip to the South, he was seen at Lisbon airport coming from Paris and on his way to Luanda in Angola. As soon as information from Luanda confirmed his arrival there the Paris officials modified their explanations by declaring that he would be in Angola for a week. However, unfortunately for them, that same day he flew off to Mozambique. This time it was declared that he had gone to Mozambique for a safari, accepting an invitation he received several months previously, before his return to Government, and moreover, that the visit was 'private' and they could comment no further. Yet at the same time they let it be known that the invitation was in a sense 'official'.

The whole affair sounds highly improbable and extremely suspicious. It is hardly plausible, for example, that his close associates would not be kept informed of his movements - far more likely that they knew precisely where he was going but were under strict instructions not to reveal anything unless absolutely necessary, a sure indication that something was afoot. The secrecy could surely not have been prompted by a desire to avoid being bothered by the press during his holiday, or to avoid giving undue publicity to an expensive overseas trip at a time when the Government was trying to economise and limit expenditure of foreign exchange. Moreover, no-one who really wanted a holiday of just one week would go so far afield as would entail a plane trip of 48 hours in each direction.

No! The answer must surely be that the Minister had some extremely important business to conduct, business of such an important and sensitive nature that it required the 'discrete' presence of the

top-most government official concerned. What is equally intriguing is that he should have gone to Mozambique when one would expect negotiations at his level regarding the colonies to be conducted in Lisbon.

This latter fact could have produced the rumours that Mr. Giscard d'Estang went to Mozambique for a secret meeting with his South African counterpart, Mr. Diederichs. This is very possible, but the latest and most plausible indication, from the Portuguese press, indicates that some SECRET DEAL ON MINERALS is in the offing. The immense mineral potential of Mozambique - iron, copper, fluorite, manganese, chrome, gold, graphite, beryllum, uranium, bauxite, silver and diamonds - has hardly been tapped yet, although the Americans, French and West Germans are engaged in oil exploration in a big way.

One of the richest provinces for minerals is Tete, site of the proposed Cahora-Bassa dam, which French companies will be helping to construct and French capital will help finance to the tune of \$31.5 million. Could there be any connection? France's commitment to the maintenance of white supremacy in Southern Africa has already been shown by her huge arms deals. And Portugal's eagerness to farm out huge chunks of Tete to the highest bidder - the Societe des Mineraux and the U.S. Continental Ore Co. have been granted mineral concessions, South African and Swedish firms have gold concessions, the French Schneider group will be building a steel mill, etc. etc. Or was it that, faced with the devaluation of the franc, France has turned more decidedly to the colonies under Portugal, in her search for cheap oil?

Whatever the nature of this suspected new deal between France and Portugal, there can be no doubt that it must be very big, that would possibly cause embarrassment if disclosed at the moment - and that it will definitely involve the further exploitation of the Mozambican people by western capital and the further entrenchment of Portuguese power in Africa.

NABALM

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NATO IN THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES

On the 4th April, 1949, at the instigation of the United States of America, the North Atlantic Treaty was signed, thus giving birth to the now notorious North Atlantic Treaty Organisation - NATO. The treaty was signed for an unlimited period of time, but any member was given the right to denounce it at the end of the first twenty years. The members are now the USA, Britain, Belgium, Canada, Norway, Turkey, Denmark, West Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Holland, France and Portugal. It covers an area of 22 million square kilometers and 490 million inhabitants stretching from the tropic of Cancer in the South to the North Pole in the North, and from the Eastern Frontiers of Norway to the Pacific coast of the United States and Canada. Basically the agreement stipulates that the US will grant protection to the governments of these countries against internal and external attacks, against open or secret subversion, peaceful and violent. NATO military integration includes operational planning on forces and weapons, joint management of supplies and communications and also provides the facility for NATO countries to supply each other with weapons for mutual forces. This latter means in effect that smaller countries like Portugal are kept

propped up by their larger and more powerful allies and through the Mutual Aid programme have easy access to the most advanced weaponry and sophisticated techniques that would otherwise be beyond their reach.

Without this direct collaboration and support from NATO (to which Portugal paid only 0.3% of infrastructure costs in 1966) it would be completely impossible for Portugal to continue her colonial wars. Portugal has the lowest average income of any European country yet its percentage of Gross National Product spent in defence expenditure (8% in 1964) comes second only to the United States. In 1967, 51.5% of the country's state revenues were spent on defence.

What does Portugal get out of NATO

as much military
equipment and ammunition
as she requires

After the outbreak of the liberation wars, in 1964 Portugal began a major expansion of the Portuguese navy as part of a long-term overseas defence programme. It was stated that emphasis was to be given to coastal defence and the protection of maritime routes between Portugal and the overseas territories. One of the first steps was an agreement with France for a long-term loan of \$ 125 million for the construction of 20 vessels. Between the beginning of the wars and December, 1965, 82 new units were added to the Portuguese navy. In June, 1967, a new decree granted the navy \$4,750,000 until 1970 for new installations and training centres. The general tendency seems to be for Portugal to let her allies supply her with the larger ships so that she can concentrate on facilities and smaller ships such as patrol vessels and landing craft. The navy has an important role in controlling the colonies (of the part played by the Nuno Tristao, Sao Tome, Diogo Gomes and Malemo in crushing the first Angola uprising) by patrolling the long coastlines and many navigable rivers and lakes: about 20 gun-boats are active in anti-guerrilla activities in Lake Niassa. It has significantly been pointed out that Portugal regularly reports on the whereabouts of the older ships and the small ships, built in Portugal, which continually appear to be in the colonies, but keeps completely silent on the whereabouts of the numerous other

THE "PORTUGUESE" AIRFORCE

1952	50 fighters Republic F-84 G Thunderjet	supplied under AMAP (American Military Assistance programme), frequently used in the colonies
1960's	50 fighters North American F-86 F Sabre	supplied under AMAP, frequently used in the colonies
1966	40 fighters G-91 NATO type R 4	supplied by West Germany by apprx. \$10 million. Specially designed for NATO. Used extensively in colonies.
1963-64	30 Cessna T-37C	supplied by US, 18 paid for by US and 12 by Portugal. Supplied as trainer but specially equipped for anti-guerilla warfare.
	Several hundred North American Harvard T-3 and T-6	from US and some given by UK under AMAP. Used in great numbers in colonies.
1954	18 bombers Lockheed PV-2 Harpoon	supplied under AMAP. Much used in colonies.
1960-61	12 bombers Lockheed P-2V Neptune	supplied under AMAP solely for submarine detection of Portuguese coast but also used in colonies.
1960's	110 Dornier DO-27 - with rockets under wings	received from West German factories and also from Bundeswehr. West German government supplied 20 in 1969, widely used in colonies.
1965-66	20 Douglas B-26 bombers	received from US (CIA affair)
1960-62	20 transport planes Nord 2502 Noratlas	6 bought by France but remade into military model by the French factory. More later received and also from W. Germany.
	Transport Beech C 45 Expeditior	given by Canada and US
	Transport Skymasters	all being used in colonial wars
	Transport C 47 Dakota	
1960-61	Transport Holste Broussard and Junker JU-52	bought from France for use in colonies
1960-61	Light aircraft Auster D5/160	assembled from construction kit supplied by UK. Used in the colonies.
1967	Fouga Magister jet trainer fitted with weapons	strongly believed to have been supplied by West Germany
1967	60 F-86 K Sabre jet fighters	supplied by West Germany

The Portuguese use also many Alouette helicopters from France and the Saro Skeeter from West Germany. In 1968, a further 12 Alouettes were ordered specifically for the forces overseas.

Portuguese military journals, Portuguese deserters and journalists have all confirmed the use, in the colonies, of the following planes:

DORNIER, HARVARD, NORATLAS, SKYMASTER, THUNDERJETS, HARPOONS, NEPTUNE, AUSTER, DAKOTA, SABRE, FIAT G-91, BROUSSARD.

The Portuguese are currently looking for 20 Transall C-60 military transport planes, which can carry 93 soldiers or 61-81 fully equipped paratroopers. It just so happens that West Germany has 20 of these planes in surplus.



ships, which were built with American and NATO aid. From the fact that they but rarely take part in NATO exercises it can be deduced that these ships are also used elsewhere .

Although many Portuguese aircraft are obsolete by western standards (often acquired 'second-hand') they are still quite suitable for use in Africa. The air-force is the most powerful, and often the only means that Portugal has of resisting the nationalists - although it has absolutely no aircraft building industry of its own. All planes are supplied by or obtained from NATO allies and it is striking that many of these seem far more suited to African conditions than European - for example, they are designed to take off from short run-ways (Fiat G-91, Cessna T-370). Moreover, planes ostensibly provided as training aircraft are regularly fitted out as highly efficient war machines with rockets and bombs. France has made quite a name for herself as the major suppliers of war materials to the apartheid regime in South Africa but it has also been a long-standing friend of Portugal in the colonies, supplying armoured cars, helicopters, warships, guns, munitions, with never any restrictions as to their use. In many cases it supplies direct to the colonies - all the electronic equipment on colonial airfields is provided by France.

For her heavy weapons too, Portugal is completely dependent on supplies from NATO allies. Moreover, even though light weapons and ammunition are supplied by its own armaments industry, this is completely dependent on the support given by NATO. It was established after the second world war with Marshall Aid, and also, it appears, West German assistance - in 1959 a group of West German journalists discovered West German machines in an arms factory near Lisbon. The Portuguese refused to comment on how they came to be there. Then, in 1961, with the outbreak of the war in Angola, the arms industry was drastically remodernised with West German support and credits including a £ 10 million loan for the acquisition of the most up-to-date machinery. This was followed in 1964 (after the treaty regarding the Beja base) by a £100 million German order, part of which funds were for the further extension of the industry.

major assistance
in training

The mutual training programmes of NATO are of particular benefit for military operations in the colonies as Portugal can draw on the wealth of guerrilla warfare experience supplied by the British, French and Americans. The latter, through their Military Assistance Advisory Group stationed in Portugal, play an important part in the training of the Portuguese army and deserters

have confirmed that special training is being given in guerrilla warfare. There is also an extensive West German military mission, the 'Zentral Deutschland Verbindungsstelle in Portugal', employing about 100 people under Brigadier-General von Lillieiskiold and the Portuguese openly admit their appreciation of Nazi techniques. As General Hermes de Araujo Oliveira explained: "The Portuguese general staff have developed a system of modern guerrilla warfare which is considered also by American, French, and British critics to be perfect and which has brought about a complete change in military strategy. We do not only take advantage of French experiences in Indo-China and North Africa, but also of methods used by the German Abwehr against French and Russian resistance movements". (Interview with Werner Schulz, Deutsche Tagespost, August 4, 1967). Britain and Portugal are especially close with regard to the navy, being the country's most important supplier of warships and many officers of the Portuguese navy have received their training in the British Royal Navy.

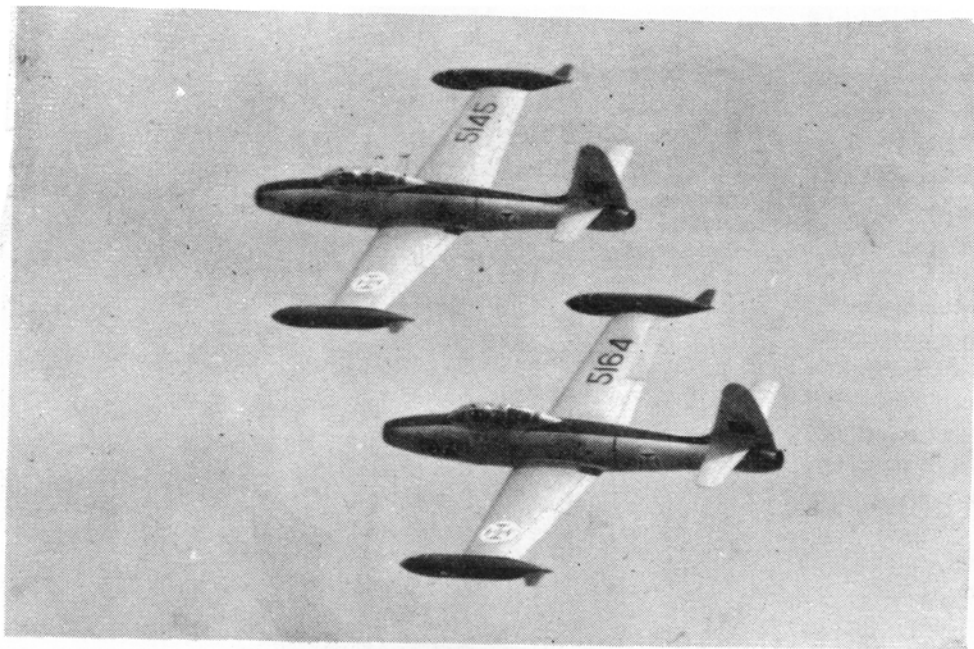
economic benefits

Foreign bases in Portugal comprise:

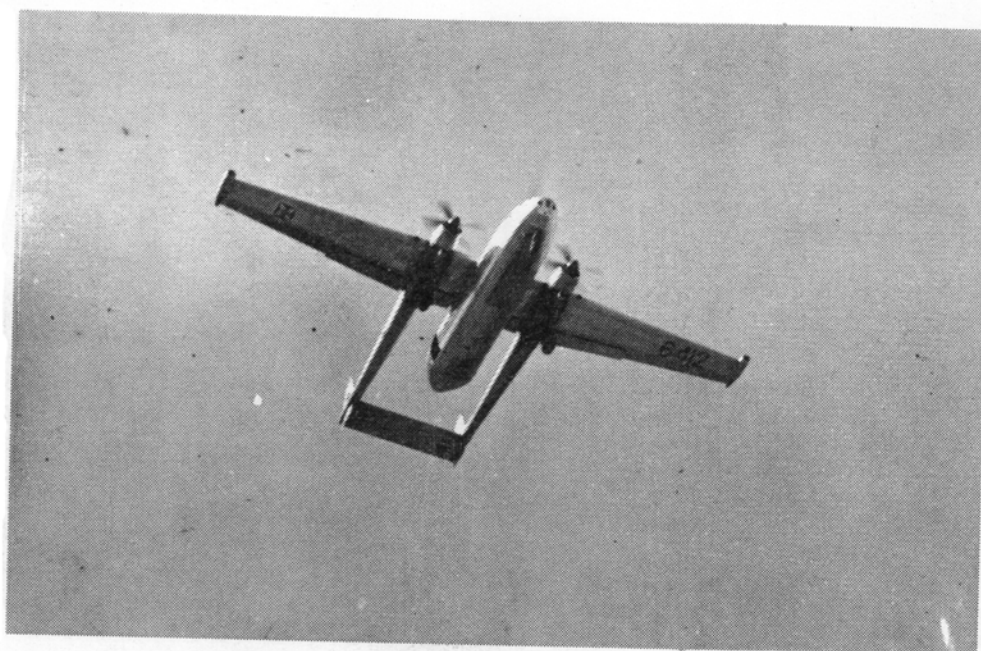
- US airbase at Lajes in the Azores
- French missile tracking station on Flores Island, Azores.
- West German airbase, Beja
- Espinho and Setubal NATO stations on the coast with facilities for testing missiles and atomic weapons
- British Montijo airbase on South bank of the River Tagus
- US navy satellite tracking station
- US Polaris submarine base at Vila da Praia da Vitoria near Estoril.

In addition, a new NATO command, IBERLANT, has recently been established with its headquarters just outside Lisbon. It is committed to the protection of shipping and the coast line of Portugal and Northern Spain, within the framework of the Atlantic strategy of the Western Powers.

The enormous capital investment involved in these bases and the presence of hundreds of foreign personnel working in them are an important mainstay of the crumbling Portuguese economy and hence



U.S. and French aircraft with Portuguese markings fly in the skies of Mozambique, sowing death and destruction among our people.





Military equipment of BRITISH, FRENCH and WEST GERMAN origin, used by the Portuguese army in Mozambique.



of Caetano's dictatorship. In the closing session of the Portuguese National Assembly at the end of 1969, Colonel Sousa Meneses said that NATO installations on Portuguese soil, completed or under construction, were in the nature of £14,500,000 towards which Portugal's own contribution was less than £1,500,000. He added that another £750,000 had been spent on scholarships and scientific research of which Portugal's share was no more than £55,000. It must be borne in mind, however, that by no means all the foreign bases necessarily fall under the heading of 'NATO installations' even though held by NATO allies, and thus the total sums involved are undoubtedly far greater. Although the full extent of the value of and continued investments in these bases is not known, a glance at just a few of the figures available gives a good idea of the magnitude involved. During the six years 1951 - 1957, the United States invested \$100 million in Lajes airbase (New York Times, 29 June, 1962). In 1965 it was reported that American installations and personnel were pouring \$5 million per annum into the Azores economy alone. It is not known what the Portuguese get out of the British and French for their bases, or how much investments they are worth now, although as long ago as 1945 the Portuguese received weapons worth approximately \$45 million from the British in the conditions of the treaty regarding their base.

And the investment continues. For example, the recent establishment of the Polaris base entailed the large-scale extension and deepening of the harbour. When the French Azores base was opened in 1965 a 15 km road had to be cut through rocks, the harbour of Santa Cruz had to be extended and a hydro-electric power plant had to be built. About 100 French experts are employed at the base. Under a military treaty of October 1963, West Germany obtained its military base at Beja and a training centre for the army at Santa Margarida. A West German military journal describes the base as consisting of a huge airfield, hangars, workshops, a hospital, barracks, plus living quarters for approximately 500 families. "Of an overall sum of approximately \$40 million, Bonn is to contribute \$37 million and Lisbon a little less than \$3 million". (Wehrkunde 1965). The journal also mentions a large air-force store near Beja, a goods depot at Castelloes, the construction of repair shops, an emergency harbour and a communications centre. In exchange for this, West Germany is to assist Portugal in every way in the country's war efforts including the provision in Germany of extensive medical facilities for soldiers wounded in the colonial wars, the construction of hospitals in Portugal, the large-scale provision of arms, etc.

It is obvious from the foregoing that apart from the actual installations themselves, Portugal gains as much, if not more, in exchange

for merely providing the various sites. The West Germans, for example, have encountered a number of snags with their Beja base and in 1968 a newspaper lamented that there seemed to be no end to the financial needs of the Portuguese, "Money is the only thing they are after, more and more money..." But although this complaint might well be echoed by the other NATO partners, such is the strategic importance attached to the bases that it seems no price is too high - a fact of which the Portuguese Government is well aware and exploits to the full - witness the 1962 treaty negotiations with the United States.

In 1962, at a time when American-Portuguese relations were rather cool, the Azores treaty came up for extension. The West German Press Agency (DPA), (March 21, 1962) reported that: "apart from financial support, the US had also offered some warships, as well as other war material, which Portugal badly needs for her defence in the overseas territories, and all this in exchange for further use of the Azores base." Another paper reported that Portugal had demanded \$80 million a year. During this period of negotiations the American policy towards Portugal changed completely. An important credit of approximately \$50 million was supplied by the American Export-Import Bank. A treaty concerning the building of one warship, 50% of which would be paid for by the United States, was extended to include three ships (i.e. an overall gift of \$15 million for the armament of Portugal). It was announced in January, 1963 that the United States would supply 30 T-37C fighter planes and this was followed in May by the delivery of a load of aircraft engines for the Portuguese airforce. On January 4, 1963 an agreement on the temporary extension of the Azores treaty was reached - but with the crucial stipulation that the Portuguese could deny the Americans the right to use the base at six months notice.

In this way the American administration has been kept under constant pressure by Portugal. American assistance to Portugal was later increased again, this time under the name 'military base rights, although a special committee considered this assistance in exchange for the base excessive and stated that Portugal had already been more than compensated in other ways. At the present time negotiations are again being conducted regarding the Azores Treaty. Portugal is said to have demanded \$200 million worth of arms to be supplied in 5 years - it remains to be seen what she will get.

It is difficult to assess the value of direct military assistance given to Portugal - apart from the generalisation that it runs in millions of dollars per year. The two major donors are West

Germany and the United States. During the 1949-61 period, Portugal received \$370 million worth of aid from the United States of which \$80 million was for economic and \$290 million for military assistance.

In 1965 an American journalist reported that since 1959 Portugal had received \$300 million in US military aid. The official figures for "military assistance" over the 1962 - 68 period are given as \$33.7 million. However, in addition there is an undiscovered amount of "defence support". West German assistance to be about \$3 million per year. French assistance is confined to long-term credits (10 - 20 years at 6% interest) to finance military supplies. Contracts are concluded in co-operation with the French Government who also guarantees the loans.

In addition to the direct provision of war finance and heavy capital involvements in bases, the NATO partners further assist Portugal in the neo-military fields of finance and commerce with huge loans and investments, without which the economy could not possibly stand the strains of the war. As Prime Minister Caetano himself said in November 1968: "All the military effort overseas has been and will go on being supported by resources coming from ordinary income, which before was largely used to cover development expenses. Now we have to face many of the expenses with money obtained by loans." In other words, as a UN report concluded, foreign loans serve to finance the military expenditure of Portugal. Similarly, the huge commercial investments of NATO countries, enticed by cheap labour and access to cheap materials from the colonies, also help to prop up the economy and the Government, as do the trade preferences granted by NATO allies in EFTA.

"free world" backing

In an age when evils of colonial systems are universally, or almost, recognised, the significance of Portugal's alliance with the leading countries of the western world as a means of legitimising the regime, cannot be ignored. Their negative attitude to United Nations resolutions on Portuguese colonialism, for example, provide a complete vindication of Portugal's policies and must be a source of encouragement to Prime Minister Caetano. Moreover, with the trump card of the Azores bases, Portugal is in a strong position not only to prevent any interference in the overseas territories, but also, as is becoming increasingly evident, to enlist more open support for her policies.

The attitude of the western powers

Whenever they are accused of assisting Portugal in her colonial wars, the western governments throw up their hands in horror and constantly reiterate that they only supply arms to be used within the framework of the alliance. Sometimes they even come out with half-hearted complaints to Portugal or the occasional window-dressing of requesting specific assurances on the use of weapons. But while satisfying their consciences, the large-scale military assistance to Portugal has never been discontinued. One wonders why they ever bother to go through the rather farcical performance of that magic phrase - "supplied within the framework of the NATO alliance" - when the facts speak for themselves and these countries make very little effort to conceal their real intentions.

the fact that nato weapons
are being used in the
portuguese colonies
is irrefutable

At the risk of appearing pedantic,
it might be useful to itemise just
some of the available evidence:

- the most obvious and frequent
is, of course, the testimonies of
the freedom fighters themselves who
have captured and photographed NATO arms - Enfield, G-3, Mauser,
produced napalm cannisters with American markings, and shot down
planes with markings which reveal they come from NATO countries;

- if the evidence of the fighters is not considered reliable enough
there is a wealth of reports by journalists and other witnesses -
Wolfgang Stocklausner saw the Fiat G-91 at Nampula in Northern
Mozambique, Basil Davidson saw them in Guinea; in 1969 a group
of British M.P.'s were satisfied that they saw evidence of NATO
weapons used against villages in Zambia;

- there are testimonials from many Portuguese deserters concerning
NATO planes, bombs and napalm;

- there is a voluminous amount of Portuguese literature, journals
books, etc. that discusses the use of NATO weapons in the colonies.

THE "PORTUGUESE" ARMY

For heavier weapons, the Portuguese army is completely dependent on supplies from NATO allies.

At the outbreak of the wars they used French Panhard and British Humber armoured cars in the colonies. More recently, they have obtained from France a great number of new AMLH 607 Panhards equipped with a 60 mm mortar and two 7.62 machine guns. These arrived in the colonies in 1966.

Tanks are the M-41 and M-47 supplied under the NATO treaty, and secretly by West Germany.

The artillery is mainly obsolete British and West German types. But in 1968, the US is thought to have supplied a great number of 155 mm guns.

Both Britain and the US keep Portugal well stocked with jeeps and the West German Unimog are also used in great quantities in the colonies.

Light weapons and munitions are mainly supplied by the Portuguese armaments industry but this is completely dependent, as shown elsewhere, on support from NATO allies.

The small weapons of the Portuguese army include four different kinds of pistols, two guns (7.92 mm Mauser and 7.7 mm Lee Enfield), four kinds of automatic rifles and eight kinds of machine guns. But the Portuguese army is more and more equipped with the modern G-3 guns (type NATO), designed as a successor to the Mauser after 1945 by escaped German Nazi technicians in Spain. At present this G-3 is manufactured at the Portuguese arms factory at Braço da Prata, with the permission of the West German government, at the rate of 160 guns per day. A MIXED GERMAN-PORTUGUESE COMMITTEE UNDER THE GERMAN LT. COL. B. WEILAND IS IN CHARGE OF PRODUCTION.



October 1968, Lisbon:

"The Overseas Provinces can count on the North Atlantic forces."

/Statement made by an official spokesman at the NATO General Assembly held in Lisbon in October 1968.

The Assembly defined mutual defence in such a way as to cover the colonial territories, so that "in case of a major danger, Portuguese Africa can count on the assistance of the NATO countries."/

portuguese government

openly admits using

nato weapons

in the colonies

For years now NATO countries have been able to see that Portugal has absolutely no intention of abiding by Article VI of the Treaty regarding the boundaries of NATO, and have long since been forced to acknowledge that they have absolutely no control over the use of armaments, once these have been delivered.

- As early as 1961 Foreign Minister Nogueira declared to a NATO meeting that Portugal had the right to send troops armed by NATO to Angola.

- When 40 fighters were supplied to Portugal by West Germany in 1966 the West German Ministry of Defence stated that, "The sale took place on the basis of the principle of mutual aid between NATO partners" and that delivery was subject to the agreement that the planes were to be used exclusively in Portugal for defence purposes "within the framework of the North Atlantic Pact". This brought an immediate retort from the Portuguese Foreign Ministry: "The transaction was agreed within the spirit of the North Atlantic Pact. It was agreed that the planes would be used only for defensive purposes within Portuguese territory. Portuguese territory extends to Africa - Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea". This reply did not prevent the West Germans from sending personnel to maintain the aircraft.

- When Britain provided the Portuguese with two frigates in 1961 the British Government said they were to meet 'NATO obligations' and would not affect 'the sad state of Angola'. In the same year they were delivered, however, the Portuguese Government announced that they would proceed to the colonies.

- At the end of 1960, when concluding an agreement regarding the provision of warships by the United States, the Portuguese Minister of Marine said: "Portugal now has great responsibilities to defend her overseas territories, and United States assistance would facilitate the carrying out of these responsibilities and lessen some difficulties."

nato governments admit
their weapons are used
in the colonies.

By the very nature of their defence they put forward the western countries acknowledge that NATO arms are used in the colonies - they base their arguments on the lines that they provide assistance under certain conditions but cannot be held responsible when Portugal does not live up to these conditions. Of course, they would not dream of putting a halt to their shipments on account of such a minor consideration.

The Sixties trend: from objection-denial to MANOEUVRE and "UNDERSTANDING"

It is interesting to note that it was only really in the early sixties that the western countries made some vague attempt to control the destination of their weapons. At one time or another the Americans, Canadians and British halted the delivery of planes. But this did not last long. And from a brief period of strained relations in the 60/61 period there has gradually developed a gradual rapprochement - indeed one might even say a veritable intimacy - between Portugal and her allies. And with this closing of the ranks it is possible to detect a new strategy towards that thorn in the NATO flesh - the Portuguese colonies. From a half-hearted attempt to stop some supplies they proceeded to provide whatever Portugal required but attempted to satisfy world opinion by professing innocence and propounding the 'NATO framework' argument. However, at the same time, as this was never very convincing, certain

countries resorted to rather complicated subterfuges in order to equip her more discretely. Finally, this trend now seems to be reaching its climax with growing sympathy for Portugal's position openly expressed, the almost total abandonment of excuses, and the construction of armaments specifically for the colonies, (e.g. the 3 warships now being built in West Germany).

This trend is well illustrated by the United States of America. The mutual defence agreement of 1951 was the basis of large arms supplies to Portugal, although it was explicitly stated that the use of these in the colonies was a breach of the treaty. Such a breach was frequently noted by the United States, who pointed it out to the Portuguese, although the assistance never ceased. In the United Nations at this time the United States supported calls for preparations for Angolan independence and requests to end the terror there, and also reduced (but never stopped) its military assistance. At first it denied NATO weapons being used in the colonies, but by the end of 1962 the American representative to the UN admitted that the US was well aware that in fact NATO weapons were being used. Lisbon had ignored all protests. It is therefore interesting that some time later the American representative was to declare that: "it is impossible for the small staff of the American consulate in Luanda to investigate the charge of NATO weapons being used in Angola". Yet the American Military Assistance Advisory Group in Lisbon - consisting of 25 Americans - has as part of its functions "to observe the report on the utilisation of material furnished and personnel trained by the military assistance programme"! Moreover, the American Secretary of State was to declare that: "It is neither in our interest to see the Portuguese leave Africa, nor to curtail their influence out there".

manoeuvres -

a few examples

- After the outbreak of the Angolan war, Portugal suddenly needed small weapons and ammunition and decided that the Israeli UZI automatic rifle was required. A London paper reported some time later that the West Germans who had obtained the UZI's on the condition that they were not resold, had in fact sold 10,000 to Portugal. This was denied by the West Germans but two journalists came up with the proof - they found that Portuguese soldiers in Mozambique were equipped with UZI's marked with the German eagle, the mark used on all West German weapons.

- In 1965 Canada refused to permit West Germany to sell Portugal 60 Canadian-built Sabre F-86K jet fighters, because Portugal refused

to agree that they would not be used in the colonies. But some West German newspapers reported that in fact these planes were supplied later. It is therefore interesting that a report by the Defence Committee of the West German Parliament stated that a total of 200 military aircraft had been supplied to Portugal. In fact at that time West Germany was known to have supplied only about 140 - Döniers, Fiats and Noratlas; so one or more unknown supplies of about 60 planes must have taken place. Moreover, after a visit by the British M.P.'s to Zambia, mentioned earlier, it was reported in a London paper that the weapons involved included Sabre jet fighters.

- The Fouga Magister jet trainer becomes a particularly effective weapon when fitted with guns, rockets and bombs and West Germany was trying to sell 250 of them. Two Brazilian papers reported that the Brazilian government was negotiating the purchase of the Fouga Magister with the object of selling them to the Portuguese in Angola. In January 1967 a West German weekly said that West Germany had supplied these aircraft to Angola but the government denied this.

- In the 1965/66 period, Douglas B-26 bombers were flown from the United States to be used in the colonies. At a trial held in October, 1965 it was disclosed that both the CIA and the State Department were involved. A pilot was charged with smuggling the planes out of the country. Although while smuggling out only the second, he was reported flying directly over the White House, he somehow managed to transport 5 more planes to Portugal before being arrested. At his trial he stated that upon delivery of the first plane in Lisbon, he was greeted by a multitude of dignitaries.

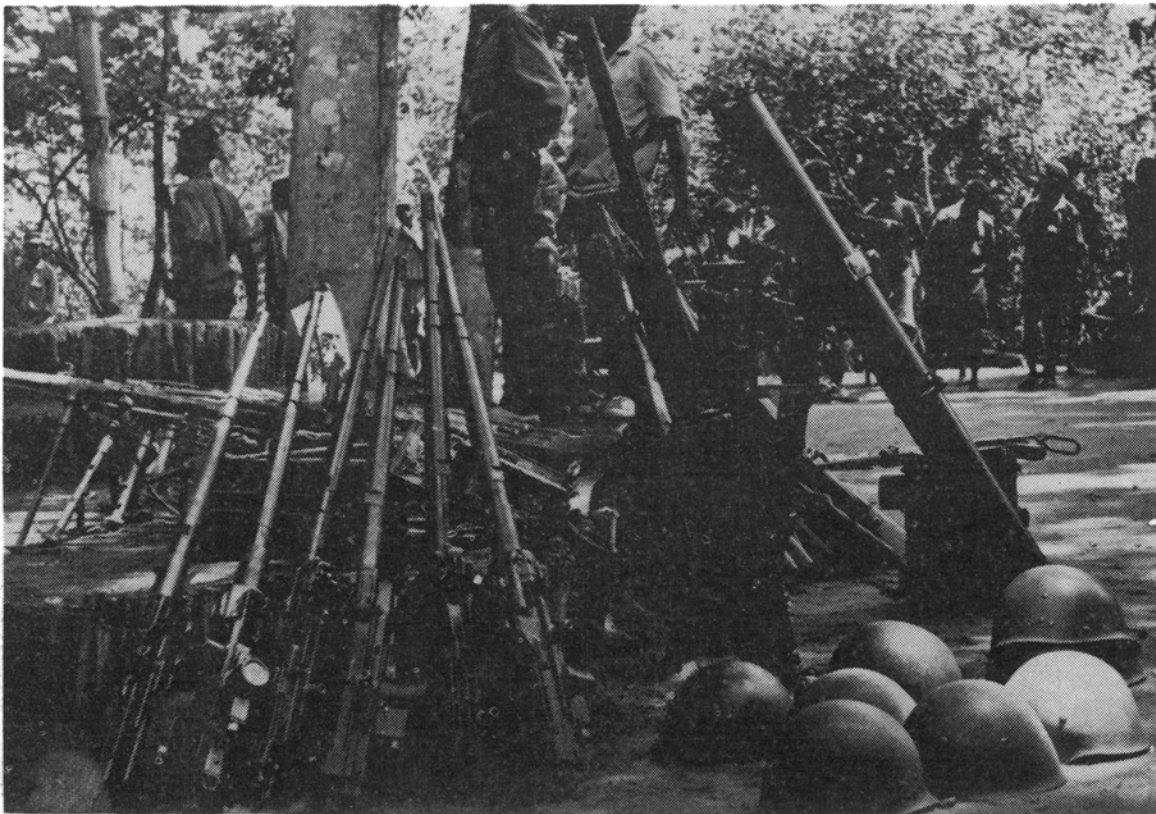
- At the end of 1967 West Germany was accused of selling some of its used M-47 tanks to Portugal. Bonn did not deny this but disclaimed responsibility stating that they had been sold to an Italian firm and from there it was the Italian Government's responsibility to determine how and to whom they should be sold.

Why does NATO support Portugal?
'understanding'

At first glance it would appear an extremely poor and embarrassing ally for the 'defenders of Western democracy'. The Preamble to the Treaty states that the parties: "are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilisation of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law". But the fact that the Portuguese people are



"Portuguese" weapons captured
by FRELIMO fighters in
Moçambique.



governed by a brutal dictatorship with no semblance of democracy or individual freedom, where the only 'rule of law' is the terror of the secret police, PIDE, and that it is administering a repressive colonial empire, did not appear to concern the NATO countries. Moreover, Salazar himself made it quite clear that signing the Treaty did not mean accepting the ideological principles of the Preamble. "The definition of this ideology is obviously unfortunate... and suffers from vacuousness and imprecision of certain formulas that are already worn out and disturbing because they are employed everywhere in the most diverse interpretations." "We feel ourselves bound by the obligations of the Pact and by its general ends not by doctrinary assertions tending to regiment political systems about whose virtues we in our country are sufficiently aware". The truth is, of course, that whenever these impressive ideals prove an obstacle to the allies' real goals, prevent them from encouraging and protecting their real interests, they are conveniently placed on one side. Thus, the West German journal Die Welt was able to state that the Atlantic coastline was a base of great significance for the United States because of the favourable location of Portugal and "the stable political climate in this country".

In addition, apart from its political shortcomings, Portugal has never, for obvious reasons, made any real contribution to the military alliance. Since the colonial wars Portugal has only had one division assigned to NATO and this is only at 50% of its strength. Of an overall army strength of 150,000 men, only 10,000 are stationed in Portugal. But the NATO allies are very forbearing - "Although Portugal did not contribute on a large scale to the work of NATO due to our struggle in the overseas territories, our allies always show much understanding for our position". (Portuguese Minister of Defence, June 1969). "An increasing understanding for Portugal's overseas policy is noticeable among the NATO allies especially the United States". (Suddeutsche Zeitung, April 22, 1969).

What is the basis of this 'understanding' and why do the western countries strive so hard to prop up the Caetano-Salazar regime?

To a certain extent, as has been shown, the answer lies in the importance attached to the strategic position of Portugal and the Azores, an importance enhanced even further in recent months following difficulties with the Spanish bases. Caetano is well aware of this fact and negotiations have been reopened at his request, accompanied by widespread reports that he is now demanding much more American assistance in the colonial wars. And judging by the successes of 1961, it appears very likely that he will get just that - but for more reasons than just the Azores.

The crux of the matter is that NATO is not, and never has been purely a defensive military alliance. It is much more than this. This has clearly been stated by Mr. Luns, the Dutch Foreign Minister, when he recently declared in Dar es Salaam "despite the fact that Holland supported the people of Mozambique in their fight against Portugal, she was unable to follow the lead set by Sweden - and provide direct financial aid to the freedom fighters - because of her membership in NATO" (Standard, February 25, 1970). A glance at NATO structure for example, shows that the Atlantic Council is divided into numerous sections dealing with political affairs, economics, finance, production, logistics and military affairs. A meeting of Foreign Ministers of the NATO council is as much a political gathering as a military one, with member states consulting each other on political matters. For NATO is a military and a political alliance to protect and advance the multifarious capitalist interests of the allies - not only in Europe, but wherever else they may be entrenched. It is an alliance that ignores a policy of "defence" for one of "the best defence is attack" whenever and wherever they can. And as their politico/economic system and power is based on sources of raw materials and primary goods to feed their industrial complexes, they cannot possibly be expected to stand aside when they see these sources threatened. Apart from Rhodesia and South Africa, the Portuguese colonies are the only countries in Africa whose riches are just there for the taking, as well as providing a secure base from which to operate on other countries, and it can therefore hardly be coincidental that with the development of the liberation struggles we have observed a steady decline in criticism of Portugal's Africa policies and instead a growth in 'understanding' for her position - an 'understanding' that in practical terms means an escalation in assistance for the colonial wars.

NATO has never tried to conceal its interest in Africa. As early as December, 1957, a communique issued after a ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council confirmed its interest in the Continent and already indicated its ideas for the future of Africa:

"We express our interest in the maintenance of peace and the development of conditions of stability and economic and political well-being in the vitally important continent of Africa. We hope that the countries and peoples of that continent who are disposed to do so will co-operate within the free world in efforts to promote these purposes. We affirm the readiness of our countries to co-operate for our part with the countries and peoples of Africa

to further these ends. Historic, economic and other friendly ties between certain European countries and Africa would make such co-operation particularly desirable and effective".

The whole statement bears a rather ominous tone with such phrases as 'conditions of stability', 'political well-being' and 'historic, economic... friendly ties. What is this but the formal defence of colonialism? The idea of 'co-operation' is repeated constantly - which in their language always means 'you give and we take'.

These ideas have often been repeated since, although not quite so diplomatically...

"The strategic location and the overseas possessions constitute for the western powers Portugal's admission card to the North Atlantic Treaty... The harbours and African territories of Portugal, especially Mozambique, the principal outlet for the strategic minerals of the Rhodesian hinterland, constitute a vital concern of British strategy and colonial policy."

(Portugal : Atlantic Pact Ally by
Olive Holmes, American Perspective Winter,
1950).

"It is clear that the money necessary for the construction of a great number of airfields, naval bases overseas, especially in Africa cannot come from Portugal alone. Foreign aid is essential. e.g. from NATO countries... When properly equipped, they could become valuable bases in an area which, due to the policy of neutrality of the young African states, has slipped from the control of the Western powers."

(Die Flotte Portugals, Neue Zurcher Zeitung,
Switzerland April 9, 1961).

"By defending her African provinces, Portugal not only defends her own territory and her own children, but also the West... The bases in Africa which the European nations could put at the disposal of NATO, are either no longer under their control or have become uncertain. Except for a few others only the Portuguese

territories have remained within the 'military vacuum' of Africa... Owing to the presence of the Portuguese and as long as the Portuguese remain there, the Portuguese positions in Africa are safe and as such they are of great significance to the West. It is therefore obvious that the West serves its own cause if it supports Portugal's efforts in Africa".

(Revue Militaire Generale, France, Nov. 8, 1963).

"Portuguese Guinea is the last territory in West Africa possessed by a NATO power and should be considered in relation to the vital Cape route and the strategy of Western resistance to tricontinental subversion."

(NATO's Fifteen Nations, Oct-Nov. 1968).

"Angola and Guinea, with 1816 kilometers of coast line on the Atlantic may be regarded as an integral part of Atlantic defence. They also offer a vital outlet to the inland territories of Africa". (Portugal's strategic Territories, Foreign Affairs, 1952).

The article further reports that much has already been done with Marshall aid to build and modernise harbours, airports and railways in Angola and Mozambique. "But to prepare Angola for efficient help in the time of war more aid is needed".

So the full nature of NATO 'understanding' and 'co-operation' is quite evident -

- the military importance for NATO of the strategic location of the Portuguese colonial possessions, and
- through this foothold, the aggressive extension of NATO countries' political and economic influence and control over as much of the continent as possible.

NATO countries politico-economic interests concern Africa as a whole but the Portuguese colonies provide an important focal point because, having no nationalist governments, exploitation is that much easier. The last five or six years have seen a steady stream of foreign investment into Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau

THE "PORTUGUESE" NAVY

Britain has been the main supplier of naval equipment -- between 1946 and 1950 this included 2 minesweepers, 6 patrol vessels, 3 submarines and 2 frigates. From Portuguese publications it is evident that all but the submarines have been used in the colonial wars. These were all "second hand" vessels but with the founding of NATO, Portugal suddenly had access to a far larger number of brand new craft at relatively little or no cost.

1953-55	8 minesweepers (NATO type)	built and supplied by the US
1955	4 large minesweepers	built and paid for by the US
1954-55	3 patrol vessels	built in France, paid for by the US
1956-1958	5 patrol vessels	built in Portugal, paid for by the US
1957	2 used frigates	loaned by US (still in use)
1957	Fast frigate "Pero Escobar"	built in Italy, paid for by US (used in Angola)
1959	2 used frigates "Alvares Cabral" "Pacheco Pereira"	from UK to constitute initiative of new Portuguese fleet in Africa
1959	Patrol launch "Antares"	bought from UK and used in colonies
1961	2 frigates "D. Francisco de Almeida" "Vasco da Gama"	bought from UK after modernisation and directed straight to colonies
1961-62	8 patrol launches	from West Germany (5 went to Angola and 3 to Guinea-Bissao)
1962	New patrol launch "Regulus"	built in UK, went immediately to Angola
1966-67	3 fast frigates "Almirante Gago Coutinho" "Almirante Magalhaes Correia" "Almirante Pereira da Silva"	50% paid for by US
1967-69	4 frigates (equipped for service in colonies) 4 submarines	all built in France and financed by 100 million credit guaranteed by French government
1970	3 <u>1,400 ton</u> warships ARE CURRENTLY UNDER CONSTRUCTION IN THE WEST GERMAN SHIPYARDS OF BLOHM AND VOSS. THEY ARE THE LARGEST WARSHIPS BUILT IN A GERMAN SHIPYARD SINCE THE WAR AND COST \$40 MILLION (an amount which should be compared with the total of \$45 million from all West German arms supplies to Portugal up to 1968). THE PORTUGUESE HAVE ALREADY OPENLY DECLARED THAT THESE AND THREE SISTER SHIPS UNDER CONSTRUCTION IN SPAIN ARE SPECIFICALLY INTENDED FOR THE COLONIES.	

3. The II Congress notes that if the Portuguese colonial-fascist government is able to carry on the war up to now, that is mainly because of the help it gets from the Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia, and from its Western allies of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) countries.

These are the countries, in particular the United States of America, West Germany, France, Great Britain, Belgium, as well as Japan, which give aid to Portugal in terms of weapons, planes, helicopters, sub-marines, warships, etc., and in terms of financial and diplomatic support, and which continue to make considerable investments in our country.

Thus, these countries, directly or through NATO, give support to the criminal policy of the colonial-fascist government of Portugal.

So, therefore, the II Congress :

- ...b) Condemns the NATO countries, in particular the United States of America, West Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, as well as Japan, for their military, financial and moral support to the colonial-fascist government of Portugal, support which enables the latter to continue to implement its criminal, outmoded, colonialist policy of war of genocide against the Mozambican people as well against the people of Angola and Guinea-Bissao.

"Resolution on Foreign Policy"
II Congress of FRELIMO, Nyassa, July 1968

and it is surely significant that Portugal's staunchest supporters in NATO - the United States and West Germany - are the two countries getting most involved financially in the colonies - both have heavy capital investment in oil and minerals; the US takes 50% of Angola's coffee; West Germany is one of the two major partners in the Cahora Bassa dam project in Mozambique. In 1951 when, despite various noises about breaches in the 1951 treaty, the American House of Representatives passed a resolution to continue military assistance to Portugal, this was undoubtedly because, in Article II of that same treaty stated that "the government of Portugal agrees to facilitate the production and transfer to the government of the United States of America... of raw and semi-processed materials required by the United States... which may be available in Portugal or dependent territories under its administration".

Thus the achievement of the nationalistic movements in the Portuguese colonies are forcing the allies of NATO to cast off their guise of innocent bystanders powerless to rest in their Portuguese friends and take up their position as the true defenders of the "freedom, common heritage and civilisation" of colonial and imperialist exploitation and oppression...

"Will the Portuguese stay in Africa? During the past 40 years Salazar's answer was YES. His successor may let the answer depend on the attitude of her allies; Portugal belongs to NATO. At the moment... a positive change in attitude regarding Portuguese doctrines can be observed. This at least is the case as far as the United States is concerned".

(Der Tagesspiegel, West Berlin, Nov. 18, 1968).

"At the moment the United States show a more reconciliatory attitude towards their Atlantic allies. They take little notice of the charges brought forward by international or African organisations, charges concerning weapons supplied via NATO and said to be used against the liberation movements."

(from L'Empire Luso-Africain by General Jean Marchand in Revue de Defence Nationale, 1968).

"For a long time it seemed as though the big powers had united against Portugal meanwhile however, the big Western powers have recognised the value of Portugal's Africa policy".

(Portugal's Foreign Minister Nogueira in his New Year speech, 1969).

According to the paper 'Noticias de Portugal' he also said: "I can confirm that we have information from reliable sources that the military leaders of the big western powers would become very anxious should Portugal's position in the world be impaired."

"For years the Portuguese complained that the United States, their ally in Europe, worked against them in Africa. There is less of that kind of talk now and the Portuguese expect the relationship to keep on improving under Mr. Nixon."

(US News and World Report April 14, 1969).

Before a back-cloth of steady streams of armaments to the colonies under cover of the alliance, the NATO actors have played out their charade of half-hearted protest, dramatic declarations of innocence mysterious secret deals, sympathetic understanding and finally direct assistance for the colonies. There now remains the final act to be played - that of validation of their activities by the extension of the terms of the treaty to include the Portuguese colonies, something for which Portugal has been pressing ever since her own admission. This is known to be well supported in the western countries. During his first visit to Germany on October, 1968, the then West German Chancellor Kiesinger supported the idea of the defence of the West being extended outside Europe.

The inclusion of the Portuguese colonies in the NATO alliance would undoubtedly be just the first step to the total abolition of geographic boundaries for its activities and hence would be a crucial event not only for the colonies but also for the rest of Africa, by further consolidating all white-ruled regimes and providing stronger bases for subversion and exploitation in the rest of the Continent.

